THE

### HISTORY

OF THE

### RUSSIAN EMPIRE

UNDER

PETER THE GREAT.

By M. de VOLTAIRE.

VOL.I.

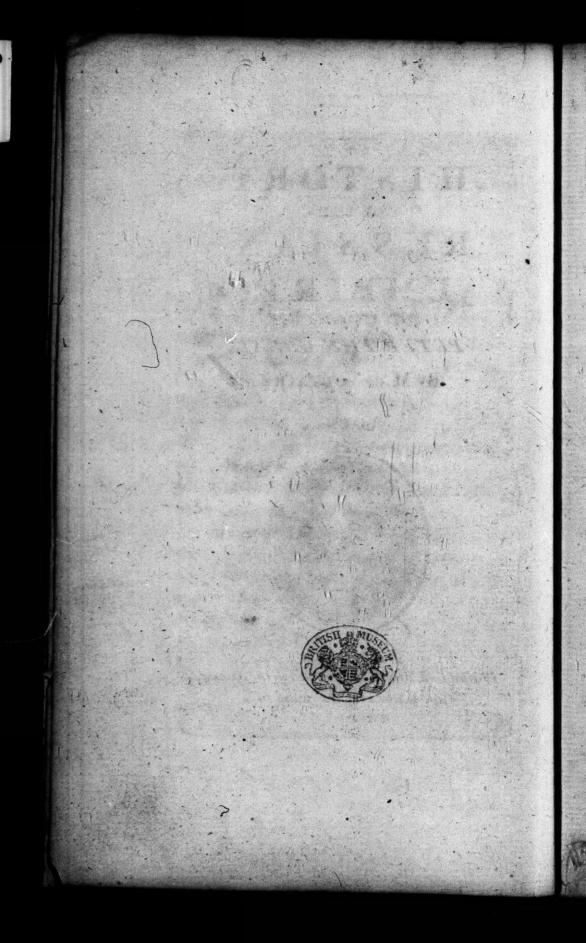


LONDON.

Printed for J. Nourse & P. Vaillant in the Strand,

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# PREFACE.

in the public library of General a viset confidence be refer, and in a The prior box reason, then the floring refides; but as he has now set provinced be

\*\*\* HO could have thought in the beginning W of the present century, that a polite and magnificent court was to refide at the extremity of the gulf of Finland; that the inhabitants of Solikam, Cafan, and of the banks of the Wolga and the Saik, should equal our best disciplined troops; that after having defeated the Swedes and the Turks, they should obtain victories in Germany; that an empire of two thousand leagues in length, almost unknown till our time, should be civilized in fifty years; that its influence should extend to all the European courts; and that the most zealous protector of learning in 1759, should be a Muscovite? Whoever would have ventured to make such a prediction, would have paffed for the most visionary man. committed

in the world. Peter the Great having alone formed the plan of this revolution, and even executed it in his own reign, is perhaps, of all princes, he whose actions are most worthy of being

transmitted to posterity.

The court of Petersburg has favoured the bistorian, employed in this arduous task, with all the original documents. In the body of this work notice is taken, that these memoirs are deposited in the public library of Geneva, a city of confiderable resort, and in whose neighbourhood, this biflorian refides: but as he has not yet received his whole instructions, nor the intire journal of Peter the Great; be bas thought proper to keep these records in his own house, where those, who may have the curiofity to see them, shall have as free access, as to the public library at Geneva; and the whole shall be deposited there, as soon as the second volume is completed.

The public are already possessed of some pretended bistories of Peter the Great, most of which bave been compiled from news papers. That which was printed at Amsterdam, in four volumes, under the name of the Boyar Nestesuranoy, is one of those impositions too frequently practifed by bookfellers. Such are the memoirs of Spain, published under the name of Dom Juan de Colmenar; and the bistory of Lewis XIV,

compiled

compiled by the Jesuit La Motte, from the pretended papers of a minister of state, and attributed to La Martiniere: such are also the histories of the emperor Charles VI, of prince Eugene, and so many others. Thus the useful art of printing is made subservient to a commerce of all others the most mean and contemptible. A Dutch bookseller gives directions for writing a book, just as a manufacturer would order his workmen to weave him a piece of cloth; and unfortunately there are writers, whose necessities compel them to labour as journeymen for hire. Hence arise those inspired panegyrics, and scandalous libels, with which the public is pestered. This is one of those abuses, that respect the greatest disgrace on the present age.

Never did bistory stand more in need of authentic vouchers, than in our time, when such an infamous traffic is carried on in falshood. The author who now publishes the history of the empire of Russia, under the reign of Peter the Great, is the same who thirty years ago wrote the history of Charles XII, from the memoirs of several persons of public character, who had frequent access to that monarch. The present history is a confirmation and supplement of the former.

Here we think ourselves obliged, from a regard to the public and to truth, to exhibit an indubi-

Arbite

table testimony, that will shew what credit ought

to be given to the history of Charles XII.

It is not long fince the king of Poland, and duke of Lorrain, caused that work to be read over again to him at Commercy; when being flruck with the truth of a number of facts, to which be himself had been eye-witness; and provoked at the insolence, with which they have been called in question, in some libels and literary journals, be was pleased to add the weight of his own testimony, to corroborate the authority of the biflorian; but not being able to write bimself, be ordered one of the principal officers of his court, to draw up the following certificate \*.

We a lieutenant general of the king's armies, grand quarter-master to his Polish majesty, and commandant of Toul, of the two Bars, &c. make known and testify, that his Polish majesty, having carefully attended to the reading of the history of Charles XII, written by M. de V.... (the last Geneva edition) not only commended the stile

<sup>\*</sup> I think myself obliged to cause it to be printed, only taking the liberty to expunge a few expressions, that redound too much to my honour; for it is obvious, that thefe are owing only to the indulgence and benignity of the prince: for which reason, I have confined myself intirely to the testimony given in favour of the truth. eduber an erander of these of but, they. ... of

... of that history, and admired those strokes, which characterize all the performances of that celebrated author, but has moreover done us the honour to declare, that he was ready to grant a certificate to M. de. V..., in order to attest the truth of the facts contained in that history. This prince further adds, that M. de V. . . . has neither omitted, nor misplaced any one fact or circumstance of consequence; that the whole of this history is in its proper order; that he has treated of Poland, and of the feveral events, which happened in that kingdom. &c. as if he had been an eve-witness. We certify moreover, that his majesty enjoined us. to write immediately to M. de V.... and to acquaint him with what we had heard, affuring him of his friendship and esteem.

The great regard we have for the reputation of M. de V... and which every man ought to have for testimonies, that ascertain the truth of facts mentioned in cotemporary histories, have induced us to ask his Polish majesty's permission to send a formal certificate to M. de V... of whatever his majesty has done us the honour to mention. The king of Poland not only consented, but even gave his express order for us to send it, desiring M. de V...

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proper, either by communicating it to his friends, or by publishing it in print, &c.

Done at Commercy, July the 1:1th,

### THE COUNT DE TRESSAN.

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The author was the more agreeably surprized at receiving this testimonial, as it came from a prince, who was as perfectly acquainted with the several transactions, as the king of Sweden himself; and who is well known over all Europe for his regard to truth, no less than for his humanity and benevolence.

We have likewise a number of authentic testimonies concerning the history of the age of Lewis
XIV, a work of equal truth and importance: a
work wherein the author breathes the spirit of patriotism; yet his live of his country, has no
where induced him to conceal the truth, nor ever
prompted him to exaggerate the good, or to disguise the evil: a work composed without the insluences of hope or fear, by a man whose situation
in life has placed him above all temptation to
slattery.

In the history of the age of Lewis XIV, there are very few quotations, because the transactions in the beginning of that period, are known to all the world, and only wanted to be set in their proper light; and as for the latter events, the author mentions them as an eye-witness himself. On the contrary, in the history of the Russian empire, we always quote our vouchers, and the chief of these is Peter the Great.

## A fire Marine from the second contraction, Again,

In this history of Peter the Great, we have not given ourselves the unnecessary trouble, of inquiring into the original of most of those nations, who compose the immense empire of Russia, from Kamtshatka to the Baltic Sea. It would be a strange undertaking, to attempt to prove by authentic records, that the Huns removed in former times from the north of China into Siberia, and that the Chinese themselves are an Egyptian colony. I am not ignorant, that philosophers of great merit seem to observe a kind of conformity between those nations; but too great a stress has been laid upon their conjectures, which some have even attempted to convert into certainty.

Thus, for instance, they now pretend to prove, that the Chinese are descended from the Egyptians.

An ancient author informs us, that Sefostris the Egyptian went as far as the river Ganges; now if he went fo far, he might go to China, which is at a great distance from the Ganges; therefore be went thither; therefore China was not then peopled; and therefore it is evident, that Sefostris peopled China. The Egyptians at their feasts used to light up candles; the Chinese have lanterns; there can be therefore no manner of doubt but the Chinese are an Egyptian colony. Again, the Egyptians have a large river, and so have the Chinese; lastly, it is evident that the first kings of China bore the same names as the ancient kings of Egypt; for in the name of the family of Yu, we may find characters, which in a different manner of arrangement, will form the word Menes. It is therefore incontestable, that the emperor derived his name from Menes king of Egypt; and the emperor Ki is evidently king Atoes, by changing k into a and i into toes.

But if one of the literati of Tobolsky or Pekin, were to read some of our books, he might demonstrate still more clearly, that the French are descended from the Trojans. And thus he might prove it, and surprize his countrymen by his profound researches. The books of greatest antiquity, he would say, and the most respected, in that little spot of the west, known by the name of France,

are

are the Romances; these were written in a pure language, derived from the ancient Romans, who never told a falsity. Now there are upwards of twenty of these authentic books, which assirm, that Francus, the sounder of the French monarchy, was the son of Hector; this name has ever been preserved in that nation; and even in the present century, one of her greatest generals was called Hector de Villars.

So unanimously have the neighbouring nations acknowledged this truth, that Ariosto, one of the most learned men in Italy, declares in his Rolando, that the knights of Charlemain fought for Hector's belmet. In fine, we have an incontestable proof of the truth of this opinion; for the ancient Franks, willing to perpetuate the memory of their ancestors, the Trojans, built a new city of Troy in the province of Champagne; and thefe modern Trojans have retained so great an averfion to their enemies, the Greeks, that there are not at present four of the inhabitants of that town, who chuse to learn their language. Nay, they would never admit the fesuits among them; probably from their baving heard, that some of those fathers used formerly to explain Homer in their public schools. as the apopiexy, phi

No doubt but such arguments would make a great impression at Pekin and Tobolsky; but in like

like manner, another might overturn this whole bypothesis, by proving that the Parisians are descended from the Greeks. For thus he would proceed: the first president of a court of judicature at Paris, was named Achille du Harlai. Achille is evidently derived from the Greek Achilles; and Harlai comes from Aristos, by changing istos into lai. The Elifian fields, which still exists near one of the gates of the city; and mount Olympus, still visible not far from Meziere, are monuments sufficient to convince the most determined incredulity. Besides, all the Athenian customs are preserved at Paris; the citizens pass their judgment on tragedies and comedies as juperficially as the Athenians; they crown the generals of their armies at the theatre, according to the custom of Athens; and, in short, marshal Saxe received a crown in public from the hands of an actress, which could not be conferred upon bim in the cathedral of that metropolis. The Parifians bave academies, derived from those of Athens; they have likewise ecclesiastic canons, with parishes, dioceses, and a liturgy, all Greek inventions, and all words borrowed from the Greek; even their distempers are of Greek original, as the apoplexy, phthisic, peripneumony, cachexy, dysentery, jealousy, &c.

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#### PREFACE.

We must confess, that these arguments would go a great way towards invalidating the authority of the learned person, who has just demonstrated the French to be a Trojan colony. These two opinions would be still combated by other skilful antiquarians; some of whom would plainly prove, that we are Egyptians, from the worship of Isis, established in the village of Isis, on the road from Paris to Versailles. Others would demonstrate, that we are descended from the Arabs, as appears by the words, almanac, alembic, algebra, admiral. The literati of China and Siberia would be very much puzzled to decide the important question, and at length would leave us swhere we are.

The origin of all nations seems to be involved in this obscurity. It is the same with respect to a whole people as with particular families; many German barons pretend to be descended in a direct line from Arminius; in like manner a genealogy was drawn up for Mahomet, by which his origin was derived from Abraham and Hagar.

Thus the family of the old Czars of Musicovy was faid to be sprung from Bela, king of Hungary, this Bela from Attila, Attila from Turck the father of the Huns, and Turck was the son of Japhet. His brother Russ founded the empire of Russia, and another brother, whose name was

Camari,

Camari, established bis dominion in the neighbourbood of the river Wolga. And worth war and a con

All these sons of Japhet, were, as every body knows, the grandfons of Noah, whose three sons made what hafte they could, to procure settlements for themselves at the distance of a thousand leagues from each other, in order to avoid being of mutual affifiance, and probably they begot a million of inbabitants in a very few years, by lying with their mentrale, that we ver defended from the traffi

A number of grave writers have traced thefe filiations with as much exactness, and with the same sagacity, as they discovered in what manner the Japanese came to people the kingdom of Peru. This was long the taste of modern bistorians, in which they have not been followed, either by the president de Thou, or by Rapin Toyras.

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If we are to be upon our guard with respect to bistorians, who ascend to the tower of Babel, and to the deluge, we ought to be equally diffident of those, who enter into a full detail of modern history, scho penetrate into all the secrets of the cabinet, and who pretend to give us an exact relation of every battle, when even the generals themselves would find much difficulty in doing it. Camarr.

Since

Since the beginning of the last century, there have been near two bundred capital battles fought in Europe, most of them attended with greater Slaughter than those of Arbela and Pharsalia; yet as very few of those engagements have produced any confiderable confequences, they are loft to posterity. Were there but one book in the world, children would know every line of it by beart, and would be able to tell every syllable of it; in like manner if there bad been only one battle, the name of each foldier would be known, and his pedigree banded down to future ages. But in this long and almost uninterrupted series of bloody wars among Christian princes, the ancient interests have all changed, and given way to a new system of politics; the battles fought twenty years ago, are effaced by those of the present time; just as at Paris the news of yesterday is drowned in that of to-day; and this in its turn, will be lost in that of to-morrow. Thus almost all buman events successively fink into eternal oblivion. This is a confideration we ought to have ever before our eyes: it will help to confole us under the calamities to which human nature is subject; and to convince us of the vanity of all fublunary enjoyments. There remains nothing in biftory, worthy of fixing the attention of mankind, but those surprizing revolutions, that have changed the manners and laws of states and kingdoms: and uton There

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upon this account, the history of Peter the Great deserves to be known.

Should we happen to have dwelt too long on the particulars of battles and fieges, which bear a refemblance to other military operations of the same kind, we crave pardon of the philosophic reader; and have no other excuse to alledge, but that these details being connected with the main transactions, must necessarily be joined in the narrative.

We have refuted Norberg in some passages, that appeared to us the most important; but in matters of less moment, we have suffered him to enjoy his

mistakes with impunity.

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We have endeavoured to render the history of Peter the Great as concise, and as copious as possible. There are histories of small provinces, and towns, and even of abbeys and monks, that contain many volumes in folio: the memoirs of a certain abbé, who retired for some years into Spain, where he scarcely did any thing worth notice, are comprized in seven volumes; while one is sufficient for the life of Alexander the Great.

There may be still some childish people, who are fonder of the fables of Ofiris, of Baechus, of Hercules, and of Theseus, consecrated by antiquity, than of the true bistory of a modern prince; whether it be that those ancient names of Osiris and Hercules are more grateful to the ear than that of Peter; or that the overthrowing of giants and lions makes a more agreeable impression on a weak imagination, than civil institutions, and enterprizes of public utility. And yet it must be allowed, that the defeat of the giant of Epidaurus. and of Sinnis the robber, and the battle with Crommion's fow, are not equal to the exploits of the conqueror of Charles the Twelfth, of the founder of Petersburg, and the legislator of a most potent empire.

It is true, the ancients taught us how to think justly; yet it would be very strange to prefer Anachars, the Scythian, merely on the account of his antiquity, to the modern Scythian, who has civilized so extensive a country. We see no reason, why the legislator of Russia should yield the palm to Lycurgus, or to Solon. Are the laws of the latter, which recommend the love of boys to the citizens of Athens, and forbid it to the slaves; or those of the former, by which girls were ordered to box naked in public, preferable to the institutions of a prince, who has polished society, created

created military discipline, by sea and land, and opened a passage for the arts and sciences into his

native country.

antena

This bistory contains the transactions of his public life, which have been of the greatest advantage to his people; not the little affairs of his private conduct, of which we have but few particulars, and those sufficiently known. It would not become a stranger to disclose the secrets of his cabinet, of his bed, or of his table. Were any man capable of furnishing us with such anecdotes, it would have been prince Menzikoff, or general Scheremetow, who long enjoyed the closest intimacy with this monarch: but this they have not done; and therefore every thing now supported only on popular reports, is unworthy of credit. Men of fense will be better pleased at beholding a great perfonage labouring, for the space of five and twenty years, to promote the happiness of an extensive empire; than at being informed by uncertain accounts, of the foibles, which this prince might have in common with the lowest of his subjects. to I recognizer to the School

latter, which recommend the hear of beys to the citizens of Alberts, and forbid is to the faces, er that if the james, he white on there are dered to box nated in public, preferable to the inThe Jackley of impains upon the police, and

#### Percent of carameter, in unhapped a greater-tocaramenes according V. Queble are of his ting.

In matters of dispute, relating only to stile and criticism, or to the reputation of an author, it is better to let the tribe of pamphleteers and journalists indulge their malignity; we should become almost as ridiculous as they, were we to throw away our time in answering their scurrility, or even in reading it: but when the contest relates to important facts, truth must sometimes descend so low as to refute the lies of worthless wretches. Their meanness ought no more to hinder her from vindicating ber own cause, than the vileness of a criminal among the dregs of a people, should stop the course of justice against him. Hence we have been obliged to silence that ignorant varlet, who adulterated the history of the age of Lewis XIV. with absurd and scandalous notes, in which be discharges his venom against one of the branthes of the bouse of France, against the bouse of Austria, and against a bundred other noble families in Europe, to whose thresholds he is as much a stranger, as to the facts which he has prefumed to falfify.

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The facility of imposing upon the public, and spreading calumnies, is unhappily a great inconveniency attending the noble art of printing.

Le Vassor, a priest of the oratory, and La Motte, a Jesuit; the one a beggar in England, and the other a beggar in Holland, were both of them bistorians, and both wrote for bread; the former pitched upon Lewis XIII, king of France, for the object of his satire; and the latter upon Lewis XIV. Their change of religion was not adapted to recommend them, as men of veracity, to the public; yet it is very droll to see, with what considence they declare themselves intrusted with the sacred depositum of truth: they are continually ringing this maxim in our ears, that an historian should dare to tell the whole truth; but they ought to have added, that he should be first acquainted with it himself.

By their own maxim they stand condemned: but even this maxim deserves to be well examined, since it is pleaded in excuse for the many lampoons and satires, with which the public is pestered.

All truths of importance, or general utility, ought certainly to be made known; but if there should happen to be any odious anecdote relating to a prince;

a prince; if within his own domestic inclosure, be bas been guilty, like other private people, of some buman frailties, known perhaps to only one or two confidents, who is it that authorizies you to disclose to the public, what those considents were in duty bound to conceal? I will grant you have penetrated into this mystery; but why should you rend the veil, which every man has a right to draw over the inner apartment of his own house? And for what reason should you pretend to publish this scandal? To please the curiofity of mankind, you will say, to indulge their malignity, and to promote the fale of my book, which would not otherwise be read. You are then only a defamer, a libeller, a dealer in detraction, but not a writer of biftory, on goivern it a bridger some of a

If this weakness or foible of the prince, if this private vice, which you are fo fond of divulging, has bad any influence on the public affairs; if it bas caused the loss of a battle, has burt the revenue, or contributed to the unhappiness of the subject, you have a right to mention it : nay, it is then your duty to unfold the minute cause of such great events. In any other case, you are to be convertient with all the great men as court, weho

true,

Let no truth be concealed; is a principle that may admit of some exceptions. But here is one that admits of none: You are to acquaint posterity with nothing, but what is worthy of posterity.

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rend the will, which every man Besides the giving of false facts, there is also a method of drawing falle characters. The phrenzy of overflocking history with these portraits began in France with the writing of romances. Clelia was the first introducer of this fashion. Sarrazin, just upon the daron of true tafte, wrote a history of the conspiracy of Walstein, who never conspired: in drawing the character of that general, whom he never fair, he has given us a translation of almost all that Sallust has foid of Catiline, whom that Roman bistorian had often feen. This is writing history like a fine genius: for he who takes too much pains to shew bis wit, does no more than shew it; which is no great matter.

great matter.

Cardinal de Retz was surely qualified to draw the principal characters of his time, having been conversant with all the great men at court, who had been either his friends, or his enemies. It is true,

true, be has not painted them in those glaring colows, with which Maimbourg embellifbes his romantic biflories of the princes of paft ages. But was be a faithful painter? Did not passion and a love of novelty fometimes guide bis pencil? Ought be, for example, to bave expressed bimself. thus in regard to the queen mother of Lewis XIV. She had as much understanding as was necellary to prevent her from appearing a foot, in the eye of those, who did not know her the had more harffmels than pride; more pride than elevation; more outward from than reality, more regard to money than liberality; more liberality than felf-interest; more felf-interest than diffinterestedness: more attachment than passion, more insensibility than cruelty; more superstition than real piety; more oblinacy than firmness; and more incapacity than of all the above mentioned?

Surely the obscurity of these expressions, such crowded antitheses and comparatives, and the whole of this burlesque painting, so unworthy of history, can never be agreeable to persons of sound judgment. The lovers of truth doubt of the just-ness of this character, when compared with the queen's conduct; virtuous minds are stocked at

the ill nature and contempt, with which the his florian expresses himself in regard to a princess, who had been his great benefactives; and feel a generous indignation; upon seeing an archbishop engaged in a civil war, merely, as he says himself, from the pleasure it gave him.

If we are to distrust characters, drawn even. by those who were so well qualified for that task so what credit can we give to an historian upon his bare word, should be affect to dive into the secrets of a prince, that lived at the distance of six hundred leagues? In that case he ought to describe him by his actions, and leave it to those, who have long attended his person, to tell the rest.

Harangues, or set speeches, are another species of oratorical lying, which was anciently allowed to the historians. They made their heroes say what it was possible for them to have said. This liberty indeed might be taken with a person of some antiquity; but now these sictions are no longer to-lerated: nay, we go still surther; for if a speech were to be put into the mouth of a prince that never pronounced it, we should consider the historian as a rhetorician.

A third species of lie, and indeed the grossest of all, though it has been long the most seducing, is that of the marvellous: it obtains in all ancient bistories, not one excepted.

We meet with some predictions in the history of Charles the Twelfth, by Norberg; but we find none in any of the judicious historians of the prefent century: omens, prodigies, and apparitions, are banished into the world of fable; for history stood in need of being enlightened by philosophy.

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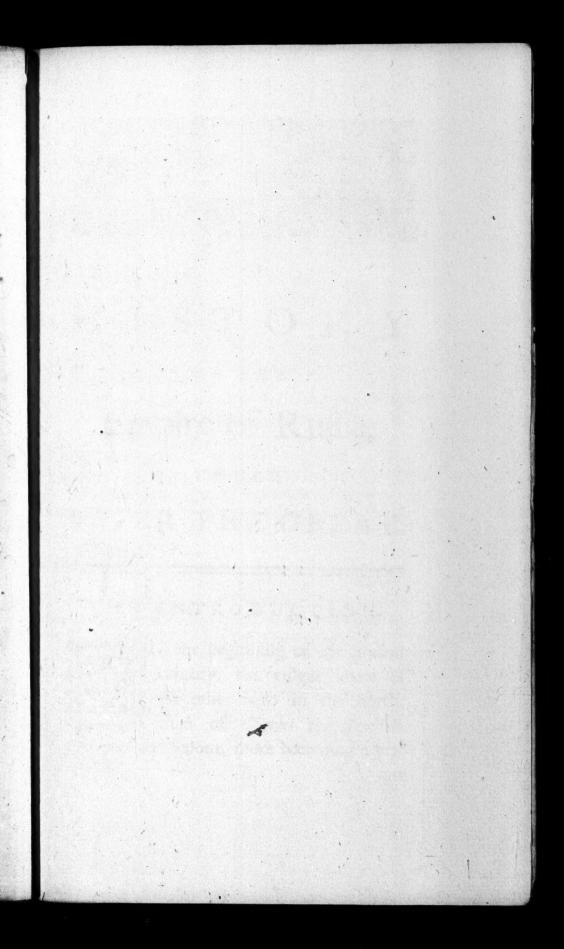
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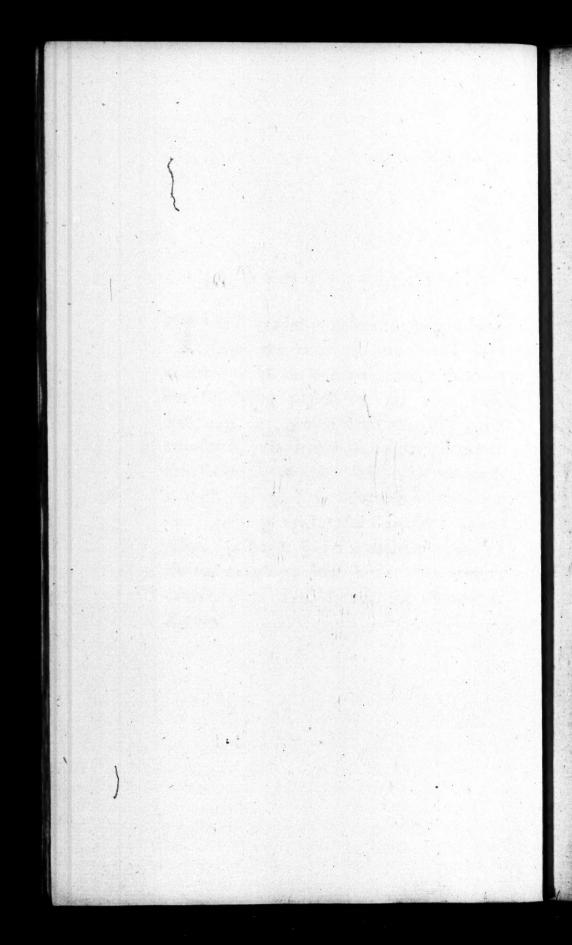
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We need with some predictions in the history of Charles the Twelfile, by Norberg; but we find none in any of the judicious historians of the present century; omens, prodiction, and apparitions, are benefited into the world of fable; for lastery hood in need of being enjoyeered by historians.

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

The reader is desired to take notice, that the notes in this work were written by M. de Voltaire, except those in the following pages, 11, 99, 114, 128, 228, 249, 321, which were inserted by the translator. He is likewise desired to correct the following errata. Pref. p. x. for exists r. exist. p. 10. 1. g. from the bottom, for caos r. cabos. p. 17. 1. 1. for Cancellor r. Chancellor. p. 92. 1. 8. for a daughter r. one of the two daughters. ibid. 1. 11. after other r. daughter. p. 219. 1. 12. for Repuin r. Repnin.







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## HISTORY

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# Empire of Ruffia,

UNDER

#### PETER THE GREAT.

### THE INTRODUCTION.

N the beginning of the present century, the vulgar knew of no other hero in the north, than of Charles the Twelfth. His personal valour, more becoming a pri-

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vate foldier than a great king, the eclat of his victories, and even of his misfortunes, made an impression on those, who are eafily affected with fuch fignal events, but are not fo clear fighted in regard to engagements of a flower nature, and of general utility. Foreign nations at that time feemed to doubt whether the new improvements of the Czar Peter the First would be of any continuance; yet they have continued to this day, and been even completed, under the protection of his daughter, the empress Elizabeth. This empire is now esteemed one of the most flourishing states in Europe; and Peter ranks among the most eminent legislators. Though his undertakings needed no fuccess to merit the approbation of men of fense, yet his fuccess has perpetuated his glory. The opinion of the present times, is that Charles the Twelfth was worthy of having the first post in the army under Peter the Great. The one has left nothing behind him but ruins, the other is in every respect the founder of the empire. Such was the judgjudgment I ventured to pass thirty years ago, when I wrote the history of the king of Sweden. Having been since surnished with original papers and records relating to Russia, I am thereby enabled to publish the state of this vast empire, whose inhabitants are of such antiquity, while their laws, manners, and arts, are a new creation.



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#### DESCRIPTION

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leagues of Pekin, upon the frontiers of

HE empire of Russia is the largest upon the whole globe; extending in length from west to east, upwards of two thou-

fand leagues; and above eight hundred in its greatest breadth from north to south. Its boundaries are Poland, and the Frozen Sea; Sweden, and China. In length, from the isle of Dago as far as its most eastern limits, it contains very

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near a hundred and feventy degrees; fo that when it is noonday in the west, it is very near midnight in the eastern part of this empire. In breadth it stretches three thousand wersts from south to north. which makes eight hundred leagues.

So little were we acquainted in the last century, with the limits of this country, that when we came to hear in 1689, that the Chinese and Russians were at war, and that the emperor Cambi on the one hand, and the Czars John and Peter on the other, had appointed their minifters to meet within three hundred leagues of Pekin, upon the frontiers of the two empires, in order to fettle their disputes, we at first treated this event as fabulous.

The country now comprized under the name of Russia, or the Russia's, is of a greater extent than all the rest of Europe, or than the Roman empire in the zenith of its power, or the empire of Darius subdued by Alexander; for it contains more than eleven hundred thousand square leagues.

Neither

Neither the Roman empire, nor that of the Macedonian conqueror, comprised more than five hundred and fifty thousand each; and there is not a kingdom in Europe the twelfth part so extensive as the Roman empire. But before Russia can be rendered so populous, so well cultivated, and replenished with towns as the southern parts of Europe, a longer series of time, and a succession of such princes as Peter the Great, are absolutely necessary.

I have seen the manuscript relation of an English ambassador, who resided at Petersburg in 1733, and who had been also at the court of Madrid; wherein this minister affirms, that in Spain, of all the European kingdoms the least populous, we may reckon forty persons to every square mile; and that in Russia you can compute no more than five: but we shall see, in the next chapter, whether this ambassador be not mistaken. Marshal Vauban, the greatest of engineers, and the best of citizens, is of opinion, that in France every square mile contains two hundred

hundred inhabitants. These computations are not always exact, but they serve to shew the enormous disproportion in the populousness of two different countries.

Here I may observe, that from Petersburg to Pekin, one shall hardly meet with a mountain on the road through independent Tartary; and from Petersburg to the north part of France, by the road of Dantzick, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, we do not perceive even the smallest hill. This observation may create a doubt in regard to the truth of that fystem, which supposes the mountains to have been formed by the rolling of the fea, and that the present earth was for a long time covered with water. But how comes it that the force of the waves, which, according to this supposition, formed the Alps, the Pyrenees, and mount Taurus, did not likewife throw up some eminence or hill, from Normandy to China, in a space of three thousand leagues? Geography confidered after this manner, might reflect fome light on physics, or at least might give rife to rational doubts. We

We used heretofore to call Russia by the name of Muscovy, from the city of Moscow, the capital of this empire, and the residence of the grand dukes: but at present the ancient name of Russia prevails.

I shall not inquire for what reason the provinces extending from Smolensko to the other side of Moscow were called White Russia, or why Hubner gives it the appellation of Black, or why Kiow should be named Red Russia.

Madies the Scythian made an irruption into Asia near seven centuries before the Christian æra: now it is possible that this conqueror marched an army also into Russia, as Jenghiz and Tamerlane did afterwards, and as probably others had done long before Madies. The antiquities of all nations do not merit our researches; those of the Chinese, Indians, Persians, and Egyptians, are ascertained by lasting monuments. But these suppose others of a far more ancient date; since the art of conveying our ideas by permanent signs, is the

the work of ages; and before any fuch art can be attempted, there must be a regular language, which also requires an immense deal of time to form. And yet there are no such monuments extant even in this polite part of Europe: the art of penmanship was long unknown to all the north; for Constantine the patriarch, who wrote the history of Kiow in the Russian language, acknowledges that the custom of writing was not introduced into this country till the fifth century.

Let others examine whether the Huns, the Slavi, and the Tartars, formerly removed with their hungry families to the fource of the Borysthenes. My design is rather to display the new world, created by Peter the Great, than to spend time to no purpose in disentangling the ancient caos. We must ever take this along with us, that no one family upon earth knows its original founder; consequently no nation whatever is acquainted with its primitive source.

I should prefer the name of Russes \* to fignify the inhabitants of this extenfive empire. That of Roxolanians, which they anciently bore, would be more fonorous: but we must conform to the custom of the language in which we write. The gazettes, and other public papers, for fome time, have made use of the word Russians; but as it has too great an affinity with that of Prussians, I should prefer, as I faid before, the term of Rulles, which has been adopted by the generality of French writers. And I cannot help thinking but that the inhabitants of the most extensive country upon earth, ought to be known by a term, which should absolutely distinguish them from every other nation.

The reader must begin with examining the map here annexed, in order to form a clear idea of a country, at present divided into sixteen large governments, which will

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<sup>\*</sup> This whole paragraph relates only to the French language, for in English we commonly make use of the word Russians.

be one day or other subdivided, when the northern and eastern provinces come to have more inhabitants.

We shall exhibit a short view of these fixteen governments, several of which contain an immense tract of land.

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The province nearest to our part of the world, is that of Livonia, one of the most fruitful in the whole north. The inhabitants were Pagans in the twelfth century; about which time the merchants of Bremen and Lubec traded to this country. The religious order of Sword bearers, having incorporated themselves with the Teutonic knights, feized on this province in the thirteenth century, at a time when the fury of the crusades was arming all Christendom against nations of a different perfuasion. Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, grand mafter of those religious conquerors, made himfelf fovereign of Livonia and of Brandenburg Pruffia, towards

wards the year 1514. From that time the Russians and the Poles began to contend for this province; but it was soon after invaded by the Swedes; and for a long while those several powers laid the whole country waste. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, having conquered Livonia, it was ceded to that crown in 1660, by the samous treaty of Oliva. At length the Czar Peter wrested it from the Swedes, as we shall see in the course of this history.

Courland, joining to Livonia, still yields homage to Poland, but is greatly dependent on Russia. These are the western limits of this empire in Christendom.

OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF REVEL, PE-TERSBURG, AND WYBURG.

Further on towards the north, is the government of Revel, and Estonia. Revel was built by the Danes, in the thirteenth century. Sweden had been in possession of this province, from the time it put itself under the protection protection of that crown in 1561, till it was conquered by Peter the Great.

On the borders of Estonia lies the gulf of Finland. Eastward of this sea, and at the junction of the river Neva with the lake Ladoga, stands the capital of Russia, the most modern, and best built city in the whole empire; founded by the Czar Peter (from whom it took its name,) in spite of the many difficulties that opposed this new settlement.

The city of Petersburg is situated upon the gulf of Kronstat, in the midst of
nine branches of rivers, by which its different quarters are divided. The center of
the town is occupied by a very strong castle,
upon an island formed by the great arm of
the Neva. The rivers are branched out
into seven canals, which wash the walls of
one of the imperial palaces, of the admiralty, of the dock-yard for the gallies, and
of several manufactories. The city is embellished by sive and thirty large churches;
among which are sive for foreigners; Roman Catholics, Calvinists, and Lutherans.
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These five temples are monuments of the fpirit of toleration, and an example to other nations. There are five imperial palaces; the old one, called the Summer Palace, fituate on the river Neva, is bordered by a handsome stone ballustrade, along the river-side. The new Summer Palace, near the triumphal gate, is one of the most beautiful pieces of architecture in Europe. The admiralty, the school for the instruction of cadets, the imperial colleges, the academy of sciences, the exchange, the merchants warehouses, the dock-yard belonging to the gallies, are all magnificent structures. The town-house, or guild-hall, the public dispensary, where the vessels are all made of porcelane; the magazine belonging to the court, the foundery, the arfenal, the bridges, the market-place, the public squares, the caserns for the guards of horse and foot, contribute to the embellishment, as well as to the security of this metropolis. They reckon that Peterfburg contains at present no less than four hundred

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hundred thousand souls. Round the town there are villas, or country houses, surprizingly magnificent: some of them have jet d'eaus, or water-works, superior to those of Versailles. There was nothing of all this in 1702, it being then an impassable morass. Petersburg is considered as the capital of Ingria, a small province subdued by Peter the First. Wyburg, one of his conquests, and part of Finland, which was lost, and ceded by Sweden in 1742, are under another government.

### ARCHANGEL.

Higher up to the north, is the province of Archangel, a country intirely new to the fouthern nations of Europe. It derived its name from St. Michael the archangel, to whose protection it was submitted, long after the Russians had embraced Christianity, an event that happened in the beginning of the eleventh century. This province was not known to foreign nations till the middle of the sixteenth. The English, in 1533, went in search of a north-east passage

passage to the East Indies. Captain Cancellor, who commanded one of the ships which had been sitted out upon this expedition, made a discovery of the harbour of Archangel, in the White Sea. At that time it was a desert place, having only a convent and church of St. Michael the archangel.

The English ascending the river Dwina, penetrated into the inland part of the country, and at length arrived at the city of Moscow. By this step they soon made themselves masters of the Russian commerce, which was transferred from its former feat, the inland city of Novogorod, to this fea-port town. It is, indeed, inacceffible feven months in the year; yet this trade proved far more beneficial to the empire, than the fairs of great Novogorod, which were much declined in confequence of the wars with Sweden. The English obtained the privilege of trading thither without paying any duty; and I don't know but it would be better, if the commerce of all nations were carried on in this manner. The Dutch foon came in for a share of the traffic

to Archangel, which was not known to other nations.

Long before this time, the Gendese and Venetians had opened a trade with the Russians, by the mouth of the Tanais, or the river Don, where they built a town called Tana: but this branch of the Italian commerce was destroyed by the incursions of Tamerlane; whereas that of Archangel continued with great advantages to the English and the Dutch, till Peter the Great unlocked the Baltic to his subjects.

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### Of the government of Archangel.

To the west of Archangel, and within the precinct of its government, lies Russian Lapland, the third part of the country so called; the other two belonging to Sweden and Denmark. This is a very large tract of land, containing about eight degrees of longitude, and extending in latitude from the polar circle to the North Cape. The ancients had a confused idea of the natives

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of this country under the names of Troglodites, and Northern Pygmies; names extremely well adapted to men, who are generally no more than four feet and a half high, and live in caverns. They are just the same people they were in former times: their complexion is tawny, though the other northern nations are white: they are generally of a very low fize, while their neighbours, and the natives of Iceland, under the polar circle, are tall in stature: they feem formed for their mountains, being very fupple, well-fet, and robust: their skin is hard, the better to withstand the cold; their thighs and legs are flender, their feet are alfo fmall, to enable them to run the more nimbly amongst the rocks, with which that province is entirely covered: they are pallionately fond of their country, which they alone can be fond of, being able to live no where elle. Some have pretended to affirm, upon the authority of Olaus, that these people came originally from Finland, and that they removed to Lapland, where they degenerated in their A STREET fize.

fize. But how comes it that they did not chuse to settle in provinces less to the northward, where they could live more comfortably? Why should their visage, sigure, and colour, be intirely different from those of their pretended ancestors? One might as well say, that the grass which grows in Lapland, is produced from that of Denmark; and that the sishes peculiar to their lakes, have been originally propagated from those of Sweden. It is extremely probable that the Laplanders are as much Aborigines as their animals, that they are equally the produce of their country, and that nature has formed the one for the other.

Those who inhabit the frontiers of Finland, have borrowed some expressions from their neighbours; which happens in all countries. But when two nations give quite different names to established customs, and to familiar objects, it is a strong presumption that one of them is not a colony in regard to the other. The Finlanders call a bear karu, and the Laplanders give it the name of muriet; in Finland the sun is called au-

tera

ringa, and in Lapland beve. Here we find no fort of analogy. The inhabitants of Finland and Swedish Lapland formerly worshipped an idol, by the name of Iümalac; and since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, to whom they are indebted for the appellation of Lutherans, they call Jesus Christ the son of Iimalac. The Muscovite Laplanders are at present supposed to be of the Greek church; but those who roam about the mountains of the North Cape, are satisfied with worshipping one God, under some gross representations, which has been the ancient custom of all the Nomads, or wandering nations.

This race of people are not at all numerous: they have but very few ideas, and fo far are happy; for more would only create new wants, with an incapacity of fatisfying them. They live contented, and free from diseases; notwithstanding the rigour of the climate, they drink nothing but water, and arrive to a great age. The custom they were charged with, of asking strangers to honour their wives and daugh-

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bability from a preconceived opinion of the superior accomplishments of foreigners, and from a desire of mending the imperfections of their breed. This was a practice established among the virtuous Lacedæmonians. A married man would commend a comely youth to his wife, that she might have handsome children by him; and he would love them as tenderly as if they were of his own begetting. Jealousy, and the restraint of laws, hinder other people from letting out their wives; but the Laplanders have scarcely any laws, and in all probability are strangers to jealousy.

## This race of people are not at all numer rous: they have wind a co.M few litters, and

Ascending the Dwina from north to south, you travel far up the country till you arrive at Moscow, the capital of the empire. This city was long the center of the Russian dominions, before they extended themselves on the side of China and Persia.

frangers to honour their wives and daugh-

Moscow

Moscow is situate in 55 degrees and a half of north latitude, in a warmer climate, and more fruitful soil than Petersburg. It stands in the middle of a large beautiful plain on the Moska\*, and on two lesser rivers, which unite their streams with the Occa, and discharge themselves into the Wolga. In the thirteenth century, this city was no more than a cluster of cottages, inhabited by wretches, that groaned under oppression from the race of Jenghiz-Khan.

The † Cremmelin, or ancient palace of the great dukes, was not built till the fourteenth century; for most of the towns in this part of the world are but of modern standing. This palace was constructed by Italian architects, as were several churches, in the Gothic taste, which then prevailed in all parts of Europe: there are two by the famous Aristotle of Bologna, who stourished in the sisteenth century; but the private people lived in wooden huts.

In the Ruffian language mofewa.

t In the Russian language kremlin. bank of Landonil

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The first writer that brought us acquainted with Moscow, was Olearius, who attended the embassy of the duke of Holstein in 1633, an embassy of great show and magnificence, without answering any useful purpose. A native of Holstein must have been struck with the prodigious circumference of this city, with its five inclosures, with the great extent of the Czar's palace, and with the Asiatic splendour, for which the court of Russia was then conspicuous. There was nothing like it at that time in Germany, no town so large, nor so well stocked with inhabitants.

On the contrary, the earl of Carlifle, who was ambassador from king Charles the Second to the Czar Alexis in 1663, complains in his relation, that he could find none of the comforts of life in Moscow, no inns upon the road, no conveniency of any kind. One judged as a German, the other as an Englishman, and both by way of comparison. The Englishman was shocked to find, that most of the boyars

lay upon boards, with nothing more than the skins of animals under them; but this had been the ancient practice of all nations. Most of the houses were of wood, and had scarcely any furniture; they had no table-linen, no pavements, none of the accommodations or pleasures of life, very few artisans, and those few extremely aukward, and employed only in handicrafts of indispensable necessity. These people might have passed for Spartans, had they been sober.

But on days of ceremony, the court displayed the magnificence of a Persian monarch. The earl of Carlisle says, he saw nothing but gold and precious stones on the robes of the Czar and his courtiers. These robes were not manufactured in the country; yet it is evident, there was a possibility of rendering the people industrious; since long before this time, in the reign of the Czar Boris Godonow, they had cast the largest bell in Europe; and in the patriarchal church there were some silver ornaments of curious workmanship. These were

were temporary efforts of German and Italian artists; but the prosperity of nations must be founded in daily industry, and in a constant exercise of the whole circle of arts. Yet in those days, neither Poland, nor the adjacent countries, were much superior to Russia. The handicraft trades had not been more improved in the north of Germany; neither were they better acquainted with the polite arts in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Notwithstanding that Moscow in those days had neither the magnificence, nor the conveniencies, for which our great cities in Europe are become so remarkable; vet its circumference of twenty thousand paces; the part called the Chinese town, where the rarities of China were exhibited; the fpacious quarter of the Cremmelin, where stood the palace of the Czars; the gilded domes; the extraordinary spires of a prodigious height; in fhort, the number of inhabitants amounting to very near five hundred thousand; all this together rendered Moscow one of the most considerable cities in the world. Theodore.

Theodore, or Fædore, the elder brother of Peter the Great, began to improve this: capital. He caused several large houses to be built of stone, though without any regular architecture. He gave encouragement to his principal courtiers to build, by lending them money, and furnishing them with materials? To him they are indebted for the first stude of fine horses, and for fome useful embellishments. Petero who made every improvement, took care of Molcow, at the same time that he was building Petersburg; for he caused it to be paved, and not only adorned it with edifices, but enriched it with manufactures. And lastly, the present lord chamberlain \*, in the reign of the empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, has founded an university in this city within these few years. This is the fame gentleman, who furnished me with the materials, from which I have compiled the prefent history. He would have performed this arduous talk much better himself, even in the

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French language; for his letters to me upon this subject, and which I have deposited in the public library at Geneva, plainly demonstrate, that my being entrusted with the care of this work, was merely an act of that gentleman's modesty.

#### SMOLENSKO.

Westward of the dutchy of Moscow, lies that of Smolensko, a part of the ancient Sarmatia Europea. These two dutchies composed what is properly called White Ruffia. Smolensko formerly belonged to the great dukes of Muscovy, but was conquered by the grand duke of Lithuania, in the beginning of the fifteenth century; and a hundred years after was recovered by its ancient fovereigns. Sigifmund III. king of Poland, took possession of it in 1611; but the Czar Alexis, father of Peter the Great, retook it in 1654, and ever fince it has constituted part of the Russian empire. The elogium of the Czar Peter, pronounced in the academy of sciences at Paris, takes notice, that before this prince's reign, done the

the Russians had made no conquest, either to the west or south; but this is evidently a mistake.

OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF NOVOGOROD, AND OF KIOW OR THE UKRAIN.

Between Petersburg and Smolensko lies the province of Novogorod, a country in which the ancient Slavi, or Sclavonians. made their first settlement. But whence came those Sclavonians, whose language has diffused itself over the north-east of Europe? Sla fignifies a chief, and flave one belonging to the chief. All that we know of those ancient Slavi, is that they were a conquering nation. They built the town of Novogorod the Great, fituate on a river navigable from its fountain head, which has long enjoyed a flourishing trade, and was a powerful ally of the Hanse towns. The Czar John Bafiloviz made a conquest of it in 1467, and plundered it of all its riches; and these contributed to the magnificence of the

the court of Moscow, which till that time was almost unknown.

To the fouth of the province of Smolensko, lies the province of Kiof or Kiow, otherwise called the Lesser Russia, Red Russia, or the Ukrain. It is watered by the Dnieper, to which the Greeks gave the name of Borysthenes. The difference of these two words, one hard to pronounce, and the other of a melodious found, shews, among a hundred other proofs, the rudeness of all the ancient inhabitants of the north, and the graces of the Greek tongue. The capital Kiow, formerly Kifovia, was built by the emperors of Constantinople, who made it a colony: here are Greek inscriptions of twelve hundred years standing: it is the only city of any antiquity in this country; the inhabitants having lived for a great many centuries without furrounding their towns with walls. This was the residence of the great dukes of Russia, in the eleventh century, before the Tartars fubdued this province. In salt of better keep stord bars

The inhabitants of the Ukrain, called Cossacks, are a swarm of the ancient Roxolanians, Sarmatians and Tartars all united. Their country is part of the ancient Scythia. The provinces about Rome and Constantinople, whose empire extended over so many nations, are far from being comparable in fertility, to the Ukrain. Nature exerts herfelf in favour of the inhabitants: but their industry has not seconded her efforts: for they live partly upon the spontaneous productions of an uncultivated, but fruitful foil, and partly, or rather chiefly on plunder; excessively fond of that greatest of bleffings, liberty; and yet fuccessively flaves to Poland, and to Turky. At length they furrendered themselves to Russia in 1654, but with some restrictions; and Peter intirely subdued culiar charollecities by which themeat

Other nations are divided into cities and little towns: this into ten regiments. At the head of these a leader used to be elected by a plurality of voices, and diffinguished by the name of Hetman or Itman. This almin.

leader

leader or chief of the nation was not invested with the supreme power. At present the sovereigns of Russia nominate some lord belonging to the court for their Itman; who is no more than the governor of a province, somewhat like the French governors of those districts, called pays d'etats, that have retained some privileges.

The inhabitants of this country were formerly either Pagans or Mahometans: they embraced the communion of the church of Rome, when they became subject to Poland; and now that they are under the Russian government, they follow the rites of the Greek church.

Among these are included the Zaporavian Cossacks, who are nearly the same as our buccaneers or free-booters, desperate fellows that live upon rapine. Their peculiar characteristic, by which they are distinguished from all other nations, is their not suffering any women to live among them, as it is said that the Amazons would never admit of men. The women that serve for propagation, reside upon other islands islands in the river; they have no wives, nor families; they inroll the male children for the military service; and leave the girls to their mothers. A brother frequently has children by his sister, and a father by his daughter. They have no other laws, but usages introduced by their necessities: yet there are some priests of the Greek church amongst them. The government has lately erected fort St. Elizabeth on the Borysthenes, in order to keep them in awe. They serve as irregulars in the Russian armies; and woe be to the man that falls into their hands.

OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF BELGOROD, VERONISE, AND NISCHGOROD.

Ascending north-east from the province of Kiow, between the Borysthenes and the Tanais, or river Don, you come to the government of Belgorod, as extensive as that of Kiow. This is one of the most fruitful provinces of Russia; it furnishes Poland with a prodigious number of that large cattle, known by the name of the D Ukrain

Ukrain oxen. These two provinces are protected from the incursions of the Crim Tartars, by lines extending from the Borysthenes to the Tanais, strengthened by forts and redoubts.

Advancing still northwards, you pass the Tanais, and enter the government of Woronitz or Veronise, which extends as far as the banks of the Palus Mæotis. In the neighbourhood of the capital called Veronise\*, and at the mouth of the river of the same name, which empties itself into the Tanais, Peter the Great built his first sleet; an enterprize of which they had as yet no sort of idea in those extensive dominions. From thence you proceed to the government of Nischgorod, abounding in grain, and watered by the Wolga.

### ASTRACAN.

From the latter province we proceed fouthward to the kingdom of Astracan. This country extends from 43 degrees and a half north latitude, in a most delightful

The Ruffians write and pronounce it Voronesteb.

climate, to near fifty, including about as many degrees of longitude as latitude; terminated on one fide by the Cafpian Sea, on the other by the mountains of Circaffia, and projecting beyond the Cafpian, along mount Caucafus; watered by the Wolga, the Jaik, and feveral other leffer streams. Mr. Perry, the English engineer, pretends that canals might be drawn between these rivers, to receive the inundations; which would be productive of the same effect as the waters of the Nile, and greatly increase the fertility of the soil. But to the right and left of the Wolga and the Jaik, this fine province was infested, rather than inhabited, by Tartars, who never cultivated the land, but always lived as vagabonds.

Perry the engineer, who was employed in these parts by Peter the Great, found prodigious tracts of land, covered with pasture, leguminous plants, cherry and almond trees. Amidst those solitudes, he saw some wild sheep, whose slesh was most delicate eating. The government was obliged to begin with

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taming and civilizing the human species, in order to second the benignity of the climate, while they were forcing nature in the neighbourhood of Petersburg.

The kingdom of Astracan is part of the ancient Capshak, conquered successively by the Tartar princes, Jenghiz-Khan, and Tamerlane, whose empire reached as far as Moscow. The Czar John Basilides, grandson of John Basiloviz, and the greatest conqueror among all the Russian sovereigns, rescued his country from the Tartarian yoke in the sixteenth century, and added the kingdom of Astracan to his other conquests in 1554.

Astracan, the boundary of Asia and Europe, is capable of being rendered the staple of both, as merchandizes may be conveyed from the Caspian Sea up to this town, by means of the Wolga. This was one of the grand schemes of Peter the Great; and it has been partly carried into execution. An intire suburb of Astracan is inhabited by Indians.

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#### OREMBURG.

To the fouth-east of Astracan there is a small country, lately planted, to which they have given the name of Oremburg. The town fo called was built in 1734, on the banks of the river Jaik. This province is incumbered with feveral branches of mount Caucasus. The passages of the mountains, and of the rivers descending from thence, are defended by forts at equal distances. This country was formerly uninhabited, but now it ferves as a receptacle for the persons and effects of the Persians, that have escaped the fury of the civil wars, and the rapacity of plunderers. The town of Oremburg is become the fanctuary of the Persians who fly thither with their fortunes; fo that it is greatly improved by the calamities of that nation. As the Indians, and the natives of the Great Bochara, likewise trade to this place, it is become the staple of Asia. The training to

" Memoir of Spresignous confirmed by my Reffer

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### OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF CASAN, AND GREAT PERMIA.

Beyond the Wolga and the Jaik, towards the north, lies the kingdom of Cafan, which had the fame fate as Aftracan, of falling to the share of a son of Jenghiz-Khan, and afterwards of a fon of Tamerlane, and at length of being conquered by John Bafilides. This extensive tract is still peopled by many Mahometan Tartars: it extends as far as Siberia; was once a rich and flourishing country of and still retains some marks of its former opulence. A province of this kingdom, known by the name of the Great Permia, and afterwards by that of Solikam, was the staple of Perfian merchandize, and of the furs of Tartary. In this faine Permia they have found a great quantity of the coin of the first callphs, with some golden idols belonging to the Tartars \*: but these mortuments of ancient opulence have been discovered in

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<sup>•</sup> Memoirs of Strablemberg, confirmed by my Russian authorities.

the midst of poverty, and in dreary solitudes, in which there was not even the least vestige of commerce. Revolutions of this nature may easily happen to a barren country; since even the most fruitful provinces are subject to the same vicissitudes.

Strablemberg, the famous Swede, who converted his captivity to fo noble an use, and who examined these extensive countries with fuch attention, was the first that established the probability of a fact, which before his time had been always deemed incredible; I mean concerning the ancient commerce of these provinces. Pliny and Pomponius Mela relate, that in the reign of Augustus, a king of the Suevi prefented to Metellus Celer fome Indians, who had been cast away on the country bordering upon the Elbe. How was it possible, you will fay, for the inhabitants of India to navigate the German ocean? This adventure has appeared fabulous to all the moderns, especially as there has been fo great a change in the commerce of our hemisphere, by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.

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heretofore it was not more extraordinary to see an Indian trading in the parts to the north-west of his country, than to behold a Roman travelling to India by the way of Arabia. The Indians went to Persia, from thence they embarked on the sea of Hyrcania, and ascending the Rha, now the Wolga, penetrated as far as Great Permia by the Kama, and from thence they might embark on the north sea, or the Baltic. There have been adventurous men in all ages; and the Tyrians undertook more surprizing voyages.

If after furveying all these vast provinces, you cast an eye towards the east, you will find the limits of Europe and Asia again confounded. There ought to have been a new name for this large part of the world. The ancients divided the known continent into Europe, Asia, and Africa; but they had not seen the tenth part of it; which is the reason, that when we pass the Palus Maetis, we no longer know where Europe ends, or Asia begins. The country beyond mount Taurus, was distinguished at first

by the general denomination of Scythia, and afterwards by that of Tartary. It would be right perhaps to give the name of Arctic, or Northern Lands, to the whole tract extending from the Baltic as far as the confines of China; as we call Terra Auftralis, or Southern Lands, that part of the globe of the like extent, fituate under the Antarctic Pole, and forming the counterpoise of the globe.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SIBERIA, OF THE SAMOJEDES, THE OSTIACKS, KAMT-

From the frontiers of the provinces of Archangel, Relan, and Aftracan, the government of Siberia, with the lands beyond it, extends itself eastward to the sea of Japan. It joins the southern parts of Russia by mount Caucasus; from thence to the country of Kamtshatka, they reckon about twelve hundred leagues; and from the south part of Tartary, its boundary, to the frozen sea, they compute about four hundred; the least breadth of the Russian empire.

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This country produces very rich furs, to which it owes its discovery in 1563. In the fixteenth century, in the reign of the Czar John Basilides, and not of Theodore Johannowitz, a private person in the neighbourhood of Archangel, whose mame was Anika, and who, considering his station and country, might be reckoned opulent, happened to observe that a certain fet of men, whose figure and dress were very extraordinary, and whose language was understood by no body but themfelves. came down a river every year, that falls into the Dwina \*: finding that they ibrought martens, and black foxes with them, to truck for nails, and bits of glass, just as the savages of America used to exchange their gold for toys with the Spamiards, he ordered his fons and his fervants to follow them up the country. These were the Samojedes, a people who feem to resemble the Laplanders, though they are mot of the same race. They are, like that nation, unacquainted with the use of

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bread; and they have equally the conveniency of rein-deer, which draw their fledges. They live in caverns, and in huts, amidst the snow \*: yet nature has established a visible difference between them and the Laplanders. Their upper jaw projects further out, fo as to be level with their nose, and their ears are higher. Both the men and women have no hair but upon their head; and their nipple is as black as ebony. The Laplanders of both fexes have none of these signs. By memoirs from those unfrequented, and almost unknown parts, I have been informed, that the author of that excellent work, the Natural History of the King's Garden, is mistaken, when mentioning so many curious articles relative to human nature, he confounds the Lapland race with that of the Samojedes. There is a greater difference in the human species than is generally imagined. The Samojedes and the Hottentots feem to be the two extremes of our continent. If we attend to the black nipples of the

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Memoirs fent from Peterfburg.

females of Samojeda, and to the apron which nature has given to the Hottentot women, and which hangs half way down their thighs, we shall have some idea of the variety of our animal species; a variety to which the inhabitants of great cities are generally strangers, as indeed they are to almost every thing, that does not immediately affect their senses.

The Samojedes have as many oddities in their moral, as in their natural constitution: they pay no worship to the Supreme Being, and they border upon Manicheism, or rather upon the religion of the Magi, in this article only, that they acknowledge a good and a bad principle. Their shocking climate seems in some measure to excuse this belief, so ancient among all nations, and so natural to the ignorant, and the unhappy.

They never talk of robbery or murder; as they are almost void of passion, they are strangers to injustice. There is no term in their language to express vice or virtue. Their extreme simplicity has not as yet permitted them to form abstract ideas;

ideas; they are directed merely by fenfation; and probably this is an incontestable proof that mankind are naturally fond of justice, except when blinded by inordinate passions.

Some of these savages have been persuaded to come to Moscow, where they
were struck with the highest admiration at
every object they saw. They gazed upon
the emperor as their god, and submitted to
pay him a yearly tribute of two martens
or sables, each inhabitant. Colonies were
soon established beyond the Oby and the
Irtis \*; and some fortresses were also erected. A Cossack was sent into the country
in 1595, and he conquered it for the Czar,
with a few troops and artillery, just as
Cortez subdued Mexico; but his conquest
was little more than a desert.

Ascending the Oby, at the junction of the river Irtis with that of Tobol, they found a small habitation, which has been since converted into the town of Tobol+,

<sup>\*</sup> In the Russian language Irtisch.

<sup>†</sup> In the Ruffian language Tobolfkoy.

the capital of Siberia, and now a confiderable place. Who could imagine, that this country had been long the residence of those very Huns, who under the command of Atila, plundered all before them as far as Rome; and that they came from the north of China? The Huns were succeeded by the Usbec Tartars, and these by the Russians. Mankind have disputed about these savage lands, just as they have cut one another's throats for the most fruitful provinces. Siberia was formerly much more populous, especially towards the south, than it is at present, if we may judge by the ruins, and sepulchral monuments.

All this part of the world, from the fixtieth degree, or thereabouts, as far as those frozen mountains by which the north sea is bounded, bear no fort of resemblance to the countries situate in the temperate zone: the earth produces neither the same plants, nor the same animals; neither have they the same fort of fish in their lakes and rivers.

Lindon Colling Lindon Parkers

Below the country of the Samojedes, lies that of the Offiacks, along the river Oby. These people have no fort of resemblance. or connexion with the Samojedes, but in hunting, grazing, and fishing, the occupation of the earlieft inhabitants of the globe. Some of them have no religion, because they do not meet in focieties: others that live in hords or clans, offer up their orifons to the principal object of their wants; worshipping a sheep's skin, because they find nothing more ufeful than this animal; just as the ancient Egyptians chose the emblem of an ox, in order to pay their adoration to the Deity, who created this animal for the use of man.

The Oftiacks have likewise other idols, the origin and worship of which are no more deserving of our attention, than their ignorant votaties. Some of these people were converted to Christianity towards the year 1712; but they are just such Christians as our stupid peasants; that is, they know not what they profess. It is the opinion of several authors, that the Oftiacks

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Great Permia is almost a desert; and what should induce the inhabitants to remove to so great a distance, and to so wretched a country? These are points however, that do not merit our researches. Every nation that has not cultivated the polite arts, deferves to remain in obscurity.

Among the Ostiacks chiefly, and among their neighbours the Burates and the Jakubtians, they often discover a kind of ivory under ground, the nature of which is yet unknown, some imagine it to be a fossil, others the tooth of a species of the elephant, the breed of which has been destroyed. But where is the country that does not afford some natural productions, that surprize and consound even the greatest philosophers?

Several mountains in this province abound in amiantus, that incombustible flax, with which they make linen, and sometimes a kind of paper manufacture.

. To the fouth of the Ostiacks you find the Burates, another nation, that has not 11

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as yet embraced Christianity. Eastward there are several hords, whom the Russians have not been able intirely to subdue. None of these people have the least notion of a calendar. They reckon the time by snows, and not by the apparent motion of the sun: as it shows regularly, and for a long time, every winter, they say, I am so many snows old, just as we say, I am so many years.

Here I must mention an extraordinary fact, related by Strahlemberg a Swedish officer, who was taken prisoner at Pultowa, and fent to Siberia, where he lived fifteen years, and furveyed the whole country. This author fays, that there are still the remains of an ancient people, whose skin is spotted or variegated with different colours; and that he faw fome of that particular race; the truth of which has been confirmed to me by Ruffians born at Toboliky. The variety of the human species feems to be greatly diminified; we meet with but very few of those extraordinary people, and probably they have been exterminated by fome other

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race. For instance, there are but very few Albinos or white Moors, one of whom I saw presented to the academy of sciences at Paris. It is the same in regard to several species of animals, which are become very scarce.

As to the Borandians, of whom mention is often made in the learned hiftory of the King's garden, my memoirs tell me that the Russians know nothing at all of this people.

All the fouthern parts of these provinces are inhabited by numerous hords of Tartars. From this part of Tartary the Turks sirst issued forth, to conquer those extensive dominions, of which they are now in possession. The Calmucks, the Monguls, are those very Scythians, who under the command of Madies, became masters of Upper Asia, and conquered Cyaxares, king of the Medes. They are the men, whom Jenghiz-Khan and his sons led afterwards as far as Germany, and who formed the empire of the Mogul under Tamerlane. These people are a striking example of the vicissitudes,

cissitudes, to which all nations are subject. Some of their hords, far from being any way formidable, yield homage to Russia.

Such is the fituation of each particular tribe of Calmucks, who inhabit the country between Siberia and the Caspian Sea. Here they found, in 1720, a subterraneous house of stone, some urns, lamps, and ear-rings, an equestrian statue of an Oriental prince with a diadem on his head, two women feated on thrones, and a roll of manuscripts, which was sent by Peter the Great to the academy of infcriptions at Paris, and proved to be in the language of the kingdom of Thibet. All these monuments plainly shew, that the liberal arts formerly refided in this barbarous country, and are a lasting proof of the truth of what Peter the Great said more than once, that those arts had made the tour of the whole world.

The last province is Kamtshatka, the most eastern part of the continent. The inhabitants had absolutely no kind of religion, when this country was first discovered. The

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northern parts abound in very good furs; with which the natives clothed themselves in winter, but went naked in summer. The first discoverers were surprized to find men in the southern parts with long beards, while in the northern tracts, from the country of the Samojedes as far as the mouth of the river Amur, they have no more beards than the Americans. Thus in the empire of Russia there are more different species, more oddities, and a greater variety of customs, than in any country in the world.

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The first discovery of this province was made by a Cossack officer, who, in 1701, travelled by land from Siberia to Kamtshatka by order of Peter the Great. This prince, notwithstanding the unfortunate battle of Narva, extended his care from one extremity of the continent to the other. Some time after, viz. in the year 1725, a little before he was snatched away by death in the midst of his grand projects, he commissioned a Danish captain, whose name was Bering, to sail from the sea of Kamtshatka to the coast

coast of America, if the enterprize should be practicable. Bering did not succeed in his first attempt: but the empress Ann sent him again in 1733. M. Spengenberg, captain of a ship, who was joined with him in this expedition, set out the first from Kamtshatka, but could not put to sea till the year 1739; so long a time it took to reach the port where he embarked, to build vessels, to rig and fit them out with necessaries. He sailed as far as the north of Japan, through a streight formed by a long chain of islands, and returned without discovering any thing more than this passage.

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In 1741 Bering made another voyage on this very sea, in company with De L'Isle de la Croyere, the astronomer, of the same family of De L'Isle, which has produced such excellent geographers. Another captain embarked in the same project. They both reached the coast of America to the north of California. Thus, the northeast passage, which the Europeans had been so long in search of, was at length discovered; but they met with no

fort of refreshment on those desert coasts. They wanted fresh water; and one half of the failors died of the scurvy. They saw the northern banks of California for above a hundred miles; and perceived some leathern canoes, with just such a fort of people in them as the Canadians. But all to no purpose. Bering died in an island, which was called after his name. The other captain finding himself nearer to California, sent ten of his people on shore, who never returned. After waiting for them to no purpose, he was obliged to fail back to Kamtshatka; and De L'Isle died, upon going ashore. Such has been the issue of almost all the first attempts upon the northern feas: but what advantage may be derived from these painful and dangerous discoveries, is yet in the womb of time.

We have taken notice of the different provinces that in general compose the dominions of Ruffia, from Finland to the fea of Japan. All these great branches of the empire have been united at different times, as hath been the cafe of every other king-

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dom. The Scythians, Huns, Massagetes, Slavi, Cimbrians, Getes, Sarmatians, are now subjects of the Czar; and the Russians, properly so called, are the ancient Roxolani, or Slavi.

Upon reflexion we shall find, that most states were formed after this manner. The French are an affemblage of Goths, of Danes called Normans, of Northern Germans known by the name of Burgundians, of Francs, Alemans, and fome Romans mixed with the ancient Celtæ. In Rome and Italy there are many families descended from the people of the north, but we know of none that fprung from the ancient Romans. The fovereign pontif is frequently the spawn of a Lombard, of a Goth, of a Teuton, or a Cimbrian. The Spaniards are a race of Arabs, Carthaginians, Jews, Tyrians, Visigoths, and Vandals, incorporated with the ancient inhabitants of When nations are thus inthe country. termixed, it is a long time before they are civilized, or even before their language is Some indeed receive these im-E 4 provements

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Polity and the liberal arts are so difficult to establish, and the revolutions, which subvert the new-raised structure, are so frequent, that we may well be surprized to find that most nations are not as uncivilized and barbarous as the Tartars.

rench are an affemblage of Coths, of Danes, called Normans, of Northern Germans mount by the name of Hurtmedians, of Frances, Alemans, and fighe Romans mixed with the ancient Ceires. In Rome and luly there are mutty fartilles descended on the Ray Con the ver Nomans. T. Compans. T. Sequenter whe spawn of a Lombard, of a Coch, of a Teuron, or a Cimbrian. o'The Sone of nards are a race of Arabs, Carthaginians, leves, Tyrians, Vifigothe, and Vandals, incorporated with the ancient inhabitants of the country. When nations are thus intermixed, it is a long time before they are civilized, on even before their language is, formed. Some indeed neceive thele in-CHAPpróvements E &



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them in their full perfection, thence it fol-

grefs in fifty years, than any otier nation had done before a Hop, in five hundred. The country indeed is not populous in pro-

## DESCRIPTION of RUSSIA

mats prefent fituation it contains as great a number of inhabitation any other flute in

Population, finances, armies, customs, religion.

State of Russia before Peter the Great.

\*O\*N proportion as a country becomes

Civilized, the better it is peopled.

Thus China and India are the most populous empires in the world, because after the first revolutions and migrations of the human species, those two nations made the earliest establishments in civil society. Their government has subsisted upwards of four thousand years; which supposeth, as we have already observed, a gradual progress in preceding ages towards civil improvements.

ments. The Russians came very late; and as the several arts were introduced among them in their full perfection, thence it follows, that they have made a greater progress in fifty years, than any other nation had done before them in five hundred. The country indeed is not populous in proportion to its extent, far from it; however, in its present situation it contains as great a number of inhabitants as any other state in Christendom.

From the capitation rolls, and from the register of merchants or tradesmen, artificers, and male peasants, I may take upon me to affirm, that Russia at present contains at least four and twenty millions of inhabitants. Of these four and twenty millions the greatest part are villains or bondmen, as in Poland, in several provinces of Germany, and formerly in most parts of Europe. In Russia and in Poland, they compute the wealth or property of a gentleman or of an ecclesiastic, not by his income in money, but by the number of his vassals.

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The following is a lift made in 1747, of males that paid the poll-tax.
Merchants or tradefmen did bere 198000
Workmen of the district of food 16500
THE ROLL OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF
Peasants incorporated with the merchants and workmen - 1950
Peafants called Odonofkis, who con-
tribute to maintain the militia 430220
Others that do not contribute 26089
Workmen of different trades, whose
parents are not known - 1000
Others that are not incorporated in
the feveral companies of tradef-
comen _ nworz and to the crown
Peafants depending immediately
upon the crown, about - 555000
Peafants employed in the crown
mines, as well Christians as Ma-
hometans and Pagans 64000
Other peasants belonging to the
crown, employed in mines and
in private manufactures - 24200
New converts to the Greek church 57000
Tartars and Offiacks of the pagan
religion 241000
-bhot Mourfes,

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Mourses,	Tartars, M	forduats ar	d sil
others,	whether Pag	ans or Greek	S de Store
employ	yed by the ad	miralty 10	7890
Tartars	subject to	contributio	Workman
called	Tepteris and	Bobilitz, &	c. 28900
Bondmer	belonging t	o several me	- mérchal
chants	and other p	rivileged pe	Latherts ca
	vho without		
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	of the crown		
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cotte cr	about nwo	e crown,	13600
Bondmer	helonging t	o gentlemen	3550000
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00813th	e clergy, an	d who detr	homore
their e	pences gara	latits belon	197 37199
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oothe nu	imber of who	m was great	New conve
reduce	d by Peter t	nei Great b	ns. 721500
241000	y 200	•	religion
Mourfes,		N.	Bond-

Bondmen belonging to cathedral of
bo and parochial churches dou'v 23706
Pealants employed in the docks of the bus
-1 the admiralty, or in other public bliden
coopat 200,000, are subjectived histowita
Workmen in the mines, and in
private manufactures is our viduo 16000
Peafants on the lands affigned to the sidadm
principal manufactures sinozici virgoo
Workmen in the crown mines 13000
Baftards brought up by priefts 40
Sectaries, called Rafkolniky
the Officies and all the idolatrous inhabi-
1986 of Silveria, a country of greater entent

Here you have in a round number fix millions fix hundred and forty thou-fand males, that pay poll-tax. In this enumeration are reckoned children and old men; but girls and women are not included; nor boys born from the making of one register of lands to another. Now you have but to treble the number of heads liable to be polled, reckoning women and girls, and you will find near twenty million of fouls.

To this number we must add the landforces, which amount to three hundred
and fifty thousand men. Besides, neither the
nobility, nor the clergy, who are computed at 200,000, are subject to this capitation. Foreigners, of whatever profession
and country, are also exempt. Likewise the
inhabitants of the conquered provinces,
namely, Livonia, Estonia, Ingria, Carelia,
and part of Finland, the Ukrain, and the
Don Cossacks, the Calmucks and other
Tartars, the Samojedes, the Laplanders,
the Ostiacks, and all the idolatrous inhabitants of Siberia, a country of greater extent
than China, are not included in this list.

By the above calculation, it is impossible but that the total of the inhabitants of Russia must amount at least to four and twenty million. By this computation there are eight persons to every square mile. The English ambassador before mentioned, says there are no more than sive; but he certainly had not seen such authentic memoirs on this subject, as those with which I have been favoured.

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Russia is, therefore, exactly five times less populous than Spain, but contains four times the number of inhabitants: it is almost as populous as France, or Germany; but confidering its prodigious extent, the number of fouls is thirty times lefs. ministers, who

In regard to this enumeration, we have one important remark to make, which is. that out of fix million fix hundred and forty/thousand people liable to the poll-tax. there are about nine hundred thousand belonging to the clergy of Russia, without including either the ecclefiaftics of the conquered provinces, or those of the Ukrain and Siberia.

Hence out of feven persons liable to the poll-tax, the clergy have one; but in poffessing this seventh person, they are still very far from being possessed of the seventh part of the whole revenue of the state, as is the case in so many other kingdoms, where they have at least a seventh of the whole property of the country. For their peasants pay a capitation to the sovereign; and

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and the other taxes of the crown of Russia, no part of which is received by the clergy, are very considerable.

There is a great difference between this valuation, and that of other writers on the affairs of Ruffia; so that the foreign ministers, who have transmitted memoirs to their several courts, are all mistaken. There is no coming at any certainty, without searching into the archives of the empire.

Russia, in all probability, was formerly more populous than it is at present, before the great and lesser pox, the one imported from America, and the other from Arabia, had made such havock in this part of the world, where they seem to have fixed their residence. These two scourges have depopulated the earth more than that of war, and are owing, the one to Christopher Columbus, the other to Mahomet. The plague, which originally came from Africa, seldom reached the northern regions. But as the several nations of the north, from the Sarmatians

wall, over-run the world with their frequent irruptions, this ancient nursery of the human species must at length have been greatly diminished.

In this vast tract of land they reckon about 7400 monks, and 5600 religious women, notwithstanding the endeavours which Peter the Great had used to reduce them to a smaller number; endeavours worthy of the legislator of an empire, where the chief want is that of inhabitants. The reader may have observed that these thirteen thousand cloistered people, who are lost to the state, have seventy two thousand bondmen to till their lands; a great deal too many; and there cannot be a stronger proof of the difficulty of eradicating inveterate abuses.

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I find by the state of the finances of the empire in 1725, that reckoning the tribute of the Tartars, with all duties and taxes in money, the sum total amounted to thirteen millions of rubles, which makes sixty-five millions of livres, independent

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of tributes in kind. This moderate sum was at that time sufficient to maintain 339500 men, as well sea as land forces. But both the revenues of the crown, and the number of the troops, have been since increased.

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In their customs, dress, and manners, the Russians ever bore a greater resemblance to the inhabitants of Asia, than to those of Europe. Such was the ancient custom of receiving tributes in kind; of defraying the expences of ambaffadors on their journeys, and during their residence in the country; and of never appearing, either in church, or before the throne, with a fword; an Oriental custom, quite the reverse of our ridiculous and barbarous manner of addressing ourselves to God, to our kings, to our friends, and to our women, with an offensive weapon that hangs dangling down to our legs. The long robe on days of ceremony had a nobler appearance, than the fhort habit of the western nations in Europe. A tunic fined with furs, a long fimar enriched with precious stones on solemn days, and a fort of high turban, which added

added to their flature, was a dress far more becoming and pleasing to the eye, as well as more fuitable to a cold climate, than wigs and thort coats. But this very drefs. though originally used by all nations, seems less adapted for war, and for manual labour. Most of their other customs were rustie, but we must not imagine that their manners were fo barbarous as represented by forne historians. Albertus Krants mentions an Italian ambaffador, whose hat a certain Czar ordered to be nailed to his head, because he did not appear before him uncovered. This adventure others attribute to a Tartar; in short, the tale has been alfo told of a French ambaffador.

Olearius pretends, that the Czar Michael Federovitz banished the marquis of Exideuil, ambassador from Henry IV. king of France, into Siberia; but it is very certain that this monarch sent no ambassador to Moseow, and there never was such a person as the marquis of Exideuil. Thus it is that travellers talk of Borandia, a place that never existed; thus have they also F 2 traded

traded with the natives of Nova Zembla, a country scarce inhabited; and have had long conversations with the Samojedes, as if they understood their language. Were our enormous compilations of voyages to be purged of whatever is neither true nor useful, the public would be gainers, and those voyages themselves would be the better for it.

The Ruffian government refembled that of the Turks, in respect to the established forces, or guards, known by the name of Strelitzes, who, like the Janizaries, would fometimes dispose of the throne, and were as great a nuisance as support to the state. Their number was about forty thousand. Those who were dispersed in the provinces, fubfifted by plunder; those in Moscow, lived like burghers, followed their respective trades, did no duty, and behaved with the utmost insolence. For the sake of order, the government was obliged to break them; a very necessary, but dangerous the therefore tall our Burdades, a sign that its ver existed a tribustance and

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The public revenue did not amount to five millions of rubles, that is, about five and twenty millions of livres. This was fufficient, when Peter the Great ascended the throne, to maintain the ancient mediocrity of the Russians; but was not the third of what was necessary to raise them from so obscure a state, and to give them a considerable rank in Europe. But indeed a great part of their imposts were paid in kind, according to the Turkish custom, which is less oppressive to the people, than that of paying their tribute in money.

## THE TITLE OF CZAR.

In regard to the title of Czar, it may possibly be derived from the Tzars or Tchars of the kingdom of Casan. When John, or Ivan Basilides, grand prince of Russia, had completed the reduction of this kingdom, which had been subdued before by his grandfather, and afterwards lost; he assumed this title, and it has since continued to his successors. Before the reign of John Basilides, the sovereigns of Russia bore the

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name of Velike Knez, that is, great prince, great lord, great chief, which in Christian countries was afterwards rendered by that of great duke. The Czar Michael Federovitz, on occasion of the Holstein embassy, affumed the titles of great knex and great lord, conferoator of all the Russias, prince of Wolodimir, Moscow, Novogorod, &c. Tzar of Cafan, Tzar of Astracan, Tzar of Siberia. The name of Tzar was therefore the title of those Oriental princes; and therefore it is more probable for it to have been derived from the Thas of Persia, than from the Roman Cæsars, whose name very likely never reached the ears of the Siberian Tzars on the banks of the Oby.

No title, how great foever, is of any fignification, unless they who bear it, are great and powerful of themselves. The word emperor, which denoted only the general of an army, became the title of the sovereigns of Rome: and it is now conferred on the supreme governor of all the Russias, more justly than on any other prince, if we consider the power and extent of his dominions.

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## RELIGION.

Ever fince the eleventh century, the established religion of this country has been what we call the Greek church, in opposition to the Latin: but there were always a greater number of Mahometan and Pagan provinces, than of those inhabited by Christians. Siberia, as far as China, was immersed in idolatry; and in several provinces they were utter strangers to all religion.

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Perry the engineer, and baron Strahlemberg, who lived so many years in Russia, affirm, that they sound more honesty and plain dealing among the pagan than among the other inhabitants; not that the pagan religion made them more virtuous; but leading a pastoral life, remote from the intercourse of society, and, as in the early ages, free from the tumults of passion, they were necessarily distinguished by their integrity.

Christianity was not received till very late in Russia, as hath been the case in regard to all other northern countries. They pretend that a princes named Olha, introduced it at the end of the tenth century; as Clotilda, the niece of an Arian prince, caused it to be received among the Francs; the wife of Micislaus duke of Poland, among the Poles; and the sister of the emperor Henry the Second, among the Hungarians. The women have had the good fortune to be open to the persuasion of the ministers of religion, and by their arguments to influence the men.

This princes Olha is said to have been baptized by her own desire at Constantinople, and to have taken the name of Helena. As soon as she embraced Christianity, the emperor John Zimisces sell in love with her. In all probability she was a widow; yet she would not accept of the emperor. The example of the princes Olha, or Olga, did not immediately produce

duce a confiderable number of profelytes; her fon \* reigned many years, but was not of the fame way of thinking as his mother; but her grandson Wolodimir, who was born of a concubine, having affassinated his brother in order to usurp the throne, and courted the alliance of Bafil. emperor of Constantinople, his request was granted, upon condition of his being baptized: this happened in the year 087, the epocha when the Greek church was first established in Russia. Photius the patriarch, a person celebrated for his immense erudition, for his disputes with the fee of Rome, and for his misfortunes, deputed a proper minister to baptize Wolodimir, with a view of adding this part of the world to the patriarchal fee +.

Thus Wolodimir finished the work begun by his grandmother; and a Greek was

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His name was Sowastoslaw.

<sup>+</sup> Taken from a private MS. deposited in the beforementioned library, and intitled, Of the Ecclesiastic Government of Russia.

the first metropolitan or patriarch of Russia. Hence it is that the Russians adopted an alphabet partly derived from the Greek; whereby they would have been gainers, if the groundwork of their language, which is the Sclavonic, had not ftill continued the fame, except a very few words relating to their liturgy, and to the hierarchy. One of the Greek patriarchs, whose name was Jeremiah, having a cause to be tried before the Divan, made a journey to Moscow in order to implore the affiliance of that court, where he renounced his pretended authority over the Ruffian churches, and ordained to the patriarchal dignity, in 1588, a perfon named lob, who had been archbishop of Novogorod. Ever fince, the church of Roffia hath been as independent as the empire. From that period the patriarch of Ruffia was confecrated by Ruffian bishops, not by the patriarch of Constantinople; and he ranked in the Greek church next to the patriarch of Jerusalem; indeed he was the only free and independent patriarch, consequently the only one possessed of any

any real power. Those of Jerusalem, Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, are mercenary chiefs of a church enslaved by the Turks. Nay, the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem are no longer regarded as such, having no more instuence or credit than the rabbis of the Jewish fynagogues in Turky.

Peter the Great was descended in a right line from a person who became patriarch of all the Russias. These new prelates would fain have shared the authority of the Czars. It was not enough for the sovereign to walk bareheaded once a year before the patriarch, and to lead his horse by the bridle; these external marks of respect only contributed to inflame the spirit of ambition. This lust of power produced great disturbances in Russia, as well as in other countries.

The patriarch Nicon, whom the monks revere as a faint, and who enjoyed that fee in the reign of Alexis, the father of Peter the Great, wanted to raife the patriarchal dignity above the throne; for he not only usurped

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usurped the privilege of fitting in the fenate, close by the Czar, but pretended that there could be no peace or war without his confent. His authority was supported in fuch a manner by his wealth, and by his intrigues both with the clergy and people, that he held his mafter in a kind of fubiection. He had the infolence to excommunicate fome fenators who opposed his violent proceedings; till at length the Czar Alexis, not finding himfelf powerful enough to depose him by his own authority, was obliged to convene a fynod of all the bishops. There he was accused of having received money of the Poles; and being convicted of the crime, was stripped of his patriarchal dignity, and confined for the remainder of his days to a monastery, after which the prelates chose another patriarch.

Ever since the first planting of Christianity in Russia, there have been several sects in this as in other countries; for fects are oftentimes the fruit of ignorance as well as of pretended knowledge. But this is the only

only Christian state of any considerable extent, that has not been disturbed by religious wars, though it has felt some occasional tumults.

The Raskolnikys, who confist of about two thousand males, and of whom mention is made in the lift of inhabitants \*, are the most ancient sectaries in this country; their tenets were established in the twelfth century by some bigots, who had a fmattering of the New Testament. These people then had, and still retain, the pretension of other sectaries, that of following the letter of the gospel. For which reason they charge all other Christians with relaxation of discipline: and to such a pitch do they carry their bigotry, that they will not permit a priest, who has drunk a drop of brandy, to confer the facrament of baptifm. They likewise affirm, that in the eye of Christ there is no precedency among the faithful; and especially that a Christian may kill himself for the love of his Saviour. They look upon it as a very great fin to

fay ballehija three times, and therefore they repeat it only twice. They never make the fign of the crofs with less than three fingers. For the rest, no society can be more regular, in regard to their outward behaviour. They live much in the fame manner as the Quakers; but do not, like those fanatics, admit strangers to their meetings. Hence it is that they are charged with all the abominations, of which the Pagans accused the primitive Christians, of which the latter accused the Gnostics. and with which the Roman Catholics used to charge the Protestants. They are said to have often flain a child, and drunk his blood; and afterwards to have joined in impure embraces, at their private affemblies, without distinction of kindred, age, or fex. Sometimes they have been perfecuted; and they have then flut themselves up in their villages, fet fire to their houses; and thrown themselves into the flames. Peter took the only way with them that was likely to fucceed, by commanding they should not be molested.

In so extensive an empire there are only eight and twenty episcopal sees; and in the Czar Peter's time there were no more than twenty-two: this small number was perhaps one of the causes, to which the church of Russia owes its tranquillity. The clergy however were so ignorant, that the Czar Theodore, Brother of Peter the Great, was the first who introduced the custom of singing in churches.

Theodore, and especially Peter, admitted persons, whether of the Greek, Latin, Lutheran, or Calvinist churches, indiscriminately into their armies and councils: they gave to every man a full liberty to ferve God according to his own private conscience, provided the service of the state was not neglected. At that time there was not fo much as one Latin church throughout this empire, an extent of two thousand leagues: except that when Peter erected fome new manufactures at Aftracan, there were about fixty Roman Catholic families under the direction of the Capuchins. But when the Jesuits endeavoured

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voured to establish themselves in his dominions, he expelled them by an edict in the month of April 1718. He tolerated the Capuchins, as insignificant friars; while he considered the Jesuits as dangerous positicians.

The Greek church has the honour of being established in an empire of two thousand leagues in length, while that of Rome has not half that extent of ground in Europe. The followers of the Greek ritual have ever endeavoured to maintain the equality between theirs and the Latin church, and have been particularly jealous of the see of Rome, so as to impute its zeal intirely to ambition: on the other hand, the Latin church being much confined in our hemisphere, and still assuming the title of universal, would fain extend herself in such a manner, as to deferve that splendid appellation.

The Jews never made any settlement in Russia, as they have done in other parts of Europe, from Constantinople to Rome. The Russians have carried on

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their trade by themselves, and by the help of the different nations settled in their empire. Theirs is the only country of the Greek communion that has no such thing as synagogues intermixed with Christian temples.

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CONTINUATION OF THE STATE OF RUSSIA BEFORE THE REIGN OF PETER THE GREAT.

Russia is intirely indebted to Peter the Great for its prodigious influence in the affairs of Europe; for it was of no consideration in any other reign fince its converfion to Christianity. Before this period the Russians made the same figure on the Black Sea, as the Normans did afterwards on the banks of the ocean. In the reign of Heraclius they fitted out forty thousand fmall barks, and laying fiege to Constantinople, imposed a tribute on the Greek emperors. But the grand knez Wolodimer, having employed great part of his time in introducing Christianity among his subjects, and in composing the intestine broils of his family, also weakened his dominions by

by dividing them among his children. The greatest part of them fell a prey to the Tartars, who held Russia in subjection during the space of two hundred years. From this slavery it was rescued by John Basilides, who likewise enlarged its boundaries; but after his time it was ruined by civil wars.

Before the reign of Peter the Great this empire was far from being so powerful, so well cultivated, so populous, and opulent, as at the present period. It had no possessions in Finland, none in Livonia; and Livonia alone had been long worth more than all Siberia. The Cossacks were not intirely subdued; the people of Astracan were but in an imperfect state of subjection; and what little trade they carried on, was greatly to their disadvantage. The Baltic, the Euxine, the Caspian, and the White Sea, as well as that of Afoph, were of no manner of use to a nation, that had not a fingle ship, nor even a term in their language to express a fleet. If nothing more had been requifite than to excel

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excel the Tartars and the other northern nations as far as China, the Russians may be faid to have enjoyed this advantage; but they wanted to be upon a level with civilized nations, and even to be in a condition of furpaffing feveral, which then made a confiderable figure. An enterprize of this kind appeared altogether impracticable, fince they had not fo much as a fingle ship at sea, and were intire strangers to military discipline by land. At the same time the most necessary manufactures were fcarce encouraged, and agriculture itself,. the primum mobile of trade, lay intirely neglected: it requires the attention and encouragement of the government; and it is to this the English are indebted for finding in their corn, a treafure far fuperior to that of their woollen manufacture.

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This neglect of the necessary arts, shews plainly they had no idea of those of the politer kind, which become necessary in their turn, when the others have been properly cultivated. They might indeed have sent some of their inhabitants to gain in-

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ftruction.

struction among foreigners; but the difference of language, manners, and religion, was an insuperable obstacle to any such step; nay, by a law both of government and religion, by a law equally facred and destructive of the welfare of the community, the Russians were debarred from stirring out of their country, and in all appearance condemned to perpetual ignorance. They were possessed of the most extensive dominions on the whole globe, and yet had every improvement to make. At length Peter appeared, and Russia was polished.

By good fortune, of all the great legislators in history, Peter is the only one, whose atchievements are perfectly known. The accounts of the Theseus's, of the Romulus's, and of the founders of all other civilized states, whose exploits were far inferior to Peter's, are blended with absurdaties and fables: but here we have the advantage of describing truths, which would pass for section, had they not been supported by testimonies of undoubted authority.

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# CHAPTER III.

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Of the ancestors of Peter the Great.

ETER's family has been feated P on the throne, ever fince the year 1613. Before that time Ruffia had undergone a feries of revolutions, which retarded her reformation, and the establishment of the liberal arts. This has been the fate of all human focieties. Never was there a kingdom that suffered more cruel vicissitudes. In the year 1597 the tyrant Boris Godenow affaffinated the lawful heir, whose name was Demetrius, and usurped the empire. A young monk affumed the name of Demetrius, pretending to be this very prince, and that he had escaped the hands of the affaffins. With the affiffance of the Poles, and of a confiderable party in the empire, fuch as tyrants must always expect to oppose them, he expelled the youth's G 3 usurper, usurper, and seized the throne. When he attained the fovereignty, the imposture was discovered, because they were disfatisfied with his government; fo that he was quickly affaffinated. Three other Demetrius's flarted up fucceffively. Such a feries of impostures, supposes the country to have been in a state of confusion. The less a people are civilized, the more easy it is to impose upon them. We may easily judge how far the public calamity and confusion were increased by such a succession of pretenders. The Poles, who had begun these revolutions by setting up the first false Demetrius, were very near being masters of Russia. The Swedes divided the spoils on the fide of Finland, and moreover laid claim to the throne; fo that the empire was menaced with utter destruction.

In the midst of these disorders, in the year 1613, an assembly of the principal boyars chose a young man for their sovereign, who was only sifteen years of age. This did not seem to be the surest way of putting an end to their troubles. The youth's

## OF PETER THE GREAT.

he was grandfather of the Czar Peter, and fon of the archbishop of Rostow, surnamed Philaretes, and of a nun; by the females, he descended from the ancient Czars.

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We are to observe, that this archbishop was a powerful lord, whom the tyrant Boris had compelled to receive holy orders. His wife Scheremetow had been also forced to take the veil. This was the ancient custom of the western tyrants of the Latin church; that of the Greek Christians was putting out the eyes. The tyrant Demetrius conferred the archbishopric of Rostow on Philaretes, and lent him ambassador into Poland. This ambassador was detained prisoner by the Poles, at that time at war with the Ruffians: so ignorant were those different people of the law of nations. During his imprisonment, the young Romanow, son of the archbishop, was elected Czar. His father was exchanged for the Polish prifoners, and the young Czar raised him to the patriarchal dignity: but this old

Some pronounce it Romano.

man, in reality, enjoyed the fovereignty in his fon's name.

A government of this kind may appear in a very odd light to strangers; but the marriage of the Czar Michael Romanow will be looked upon as something more extraordinary. The Russian monarchs had discontinued to marry foreign princesses ever since the year 1490. For after they had made themselves masters of Casan and Astracan, they seem in every respect to have conformed to the Asiatic customs, especially to that of marrying none but their own subjects.

This conformity to the ancient cuftoms of Asia, was still more conspicuous in the ceremonies observed at the chusing of an imperial consort. When the Czar declared his intention to marry, they sent for the most beautiful damsels of the provinces, who were received by the grand governante of the court: each of them had an apartment provided, but they all dined together in common. Here the Czar had an opportunity of seeing them either in public,

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public, or incognito. The marriage was fixed, without declaring the happy person; and on the day appointed a wedding suit was presented to the bride: at the same time other clothes were given to the rest of the fair candidates, who returned to their respective homes. There have been four instances of the like marriages.

It is thus that Michael Romanow married Eudocia, the daughter of a poor gentleman, whose name was Streschnew. He and his servants were out in the fields at the plough, when one of the lords of the bedchamber waited upon him with presents from the Czar, and informed him that his daughter was seated on the throne. The name of this princess is still dear to Russia. This is a practice widely different from ours; yet that is no reason why we should condemn it.

It is proper to observe, that before the election of Romanow, a considerable party had chosen prince Ladislaus, son of Sigismund the Third, king of Poland. At the same time, the provinces bordering on Sweden

Sweden had offered the crown to a brother of Gustavus Adolphus; so that Russia was in the same situation, as we have often seen Poland, where the right of chusing their monarch is productive of civil wars. But the Russians did not imitate the Poles, who enter into a compact with their new-elected king. Notwithstanding they had experienced the ill effects of tyranny, still they submitted to a young man, without laying him under any restraint.

Russia never was an elective kingdom; but the male line of their ancient sovereigns being extinct, and six Czars, or pretenders, having perished unfortunately in the late troubles, they were obliged, as we have seen, to proceed to the election of a monarch: and this election gave rise to new wars with the Poles and Swedes, who vindicated by the sword their pretended right to the throne of Russia: but the right of governing a nation against her will, can never be long supported. On the one side, the Poles having advanced as far as Moscow, and committed great depredations, after the manner

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of waging war in those times, concluded a truce of fourteen years. By virtue of this treaty, Poland was left in possession of the dutchy of Smolensko, where the Borysthenes takes its rise. The Swedes likewise agreed to a peace, and were left in possession of Ingria, by which means the Mossovites were deprived of all communication with the Baltic. Thus the empire of Russia was separated more than ever from the rest of Europe.

After concluding this treaty, Michael Romanow had a peaceable reign; and no change or revolution happened in his dominions, with respect to government. Upon his decease, which was in 1645, his son Alexis Michaelowitz, or son of Michael, at the age of sixteen, ascended the throne by hereditary right. We may take notice, that the Czars were crowned by the patriarch of Russia, according to the ceremony observed at Constantinople; except that the patriarch was seated on the same bench with the sovereign, and affected an equality greatly repugnant to the supreme power.

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ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ, THE SON OF only 10 Michael.

Alexis was married in the fame manner as his father; and from among the damfels presented to him on this occasion, he chose the loveliest, at least one that appeared fuch in his eye. He married a daughter of the boyar Miloslauski, in 1647; his fecond wife was a lady of the family of Nariskin, whom he married in 1671; and the other was wedded to his favourite Morosou. We cannot find a more fuitable title for this same favourite, than that of vifir; for he governed the empire in a despotic manner; and his power occasioned fuch commotions among the Strelitzes and the populace, as frequently happen at Conflantinople. I have a sow area of a life

Alexis's reign was disturbed by infurrections, by intestine and foreign wars. A chief of the Don Cossacks, whose name was Stenko-Rasin, aspiring to the kingdom of Astracan, proved an object of ter-

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ror; but he was at length defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death; the common fate of such bold adventurers, who meet either with a throne, or a scaffold. About twelve thousand of his adherents are said to have been hanged upon the high-road to Astracan. The inhabitants of this part of the world, were under less restraint from the laws of morality than the fear of punishment; and from such rigorous executions arose servitude, and the secret thirst of revenge.

Alexis had been at war with Poland, which was happily concluded by the ceffion of Smolensko, Kiow, and the Ukrain, to the crown of Russia. But he was not fo fuccessful against the kingdom of Sweden, on which side the Russian empire had been always contracted within very narrow limits.

His most formidable enemies were the Turks, who invaded Poland, and moreover threatened the territories of the Czar, bordering on Crim Tartary, the ancient Taurica Chersonesus. In 1671 they made them-

themselves masters of the important town of Kaminiek, and of the whole Polish Ukrain. The Coffacks of that country, ever averse to subjection, could not tell whether they belonged to Turky, Poland, or Russia. Sultan Mahomet IV. who had fubdued, and lately imposed a tribute on the Poles, infifted with all the infolence of an Ottoman, and of a conqueror, that the Czar should evacuate his several possessions in the Ukrain; but received as haughty a denial. The princes of those days knew not how to disguise their pride under the external appearance of decency. The fultan in his letter treated the fovereign of the Russias, only as a Christian hospodar, and intitled himself, most glorious majesty, king of the universe. The Czar made answer, that be was above submitting to a Mahometan dog, but that his Sabre was as good as the grand feignor's fimitar. I from will

At that time Alexis formed a defign, that feemed to prefage the influence, which the Ruffians would one day obtain in the Chriftian world. He fent ambaffadors to the -moits

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pope, and to almost all the great lovereigns in Europe, except to France, which was allied to the Turks, in order to establish a league against the Ottoman port. His ambaffadors had no other fuccess at Romel than not being obliged to kiss the pope's toe; every where elfe, they met with nothing but good wishes, the Christian princes being generally prevented by their quarrels, and jarring interests, from uniting against the common enemy of their religion. 1909

During these transactions, the Turks threatened to chaftife the Poles for refuling to pay the tribute, The Czar Alexis fent fuccours to this kingdom on the fide of Crim Tartary; and the crown general, John Sobiefky, wiped off his country's stain at the famous battle of Choksim \*, where he obtained a fignal victory over the Turks, and paved the way for himfelf to the throne. Alexis disputed this very throne with him, offering to unite his extensive dominions to Poland, as the Jagellons had done in regard to Lithuania; but the greatness of the forwarder than the or of which

offer was the cause of its being refused. He is faid to have been very deferving of this new kingdom, from his behaviour towards his ancient subjects. Alexis was the first that caused a body of laws to be digested in Russia, though it was still but an imperfect collection: he likewise introduced both linen and filk manufactures, which were not indeed of any long continuance, yet he had the merit of their first erection. He peopled the deferts towards the Wolga and the Kama with Lithuanian, Polish, and Tartarian families, that had been made prifoners of war: before his reign the feveral captives were reduced to flavery; but Alexis employed them in tilling the lands. He likewise disciplined his armies, at least so far as was then possible; and to sum up the whole, he was worthy of being the father of Peter the Great. But he had not time to perfect any of his undertakings; for he was fnatched away by death at the age of forty-fix, in the beginning of the year 1677, according to our stile, which is eleven days forwarder than that of Russia.

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#### mind, but fill more to for the mifel THEODORE ALEXIOWITZ.

Upon the death of Alexis, fon of Michael, every thing relapfed into confusion. By his first marriage he left two princes, and fix princesses. Feeder or Theodore, the eldest, ascended the throne at the age of fifteen \*; a prince of a weak and fickly constitution, but of merit superior to his bodily infirmities. His father Alexis took care to have him acknowledged his fucceffor a year before his death; a conduct observed by the kings of France from Hugh Capet down to Lewis the Young, and by a great many other fovereigns 21 1913 1813 8

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The fecond fon of Alexis was Ivan of John, to whom nature had been more unkind than even to his brother Theodore; for he was almost blind and dumb. very infirm, and subject to frequent convulsions. Of fix daughters, the iffue of this marriage, the only one that made any figure in Europe, was the princess Sophia; famous for the endowments of her no franted the q. 76 harrions receiving for

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mind, but still more so for the mischief she intended against Peter the Great.

Alexis, by his second marriage with another of his subjects, daughter of the boyar Nariskin, had Peter and the princess Natalia. Peter was born the 30th of May 1672, according to the new stile the 10th of June, and was only four years old at the demise of his father. The children by a second venter were not usually beloved; nor was it expected that this prince would ever mount the throne.

It had been the constant study of the house of Romanow to civilize the empire; a character from which the Czar Theodore did not deviate. We have already observed, when making mention of Mosdow, that he encouraged the citizens to build a great number of stone houses. He likewise enlarged that capital; and they are indebted to him for several regulations in regard to the general police. But endeavouring to reform the boyars, he disobliged the whole body of the nobility; besides, he wanted the qualifications requisite for

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a general reformation of customs and manners, having neither proper experience, nor fufficient firmness and vigour of mind. The war with the Turks, or rather with the Crim Tartars, which was still carried on with afternate fuccess, would not permit a prince, of so feeble a constitution, to undertake this grand work. Theodore, like the rest of his predecessors, married one of his subiects, descended from a family on the frontiers of Poland; and upon her decease, at the expiration of a year, he married a fecond wife in 1682, whose name was Martha Matweowna, daughter of the secretary Narikin +. A few months after, he was feized with the illness, of which he died; but left no issue. As the Czars married without regard to birth, they might likewise appoint a fuccesfor (at least at that time) without regard to primogeniture. The dignity of confort, and heir to the fovereign, feemed to be intirely the reward of merit; in

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<sup>†</sup> She was the daughter of Mathias Apraxin, a new-

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which respect the practice of this empire was far superior to that of more civilized nations.

Theodore \*, a little before his death, being sensible that his brother John was, by natural infirmities, incapable of governing, appointed his younger brother Peter, to succeed to the empire, though he was only ten years old, but a most promising prince.

If, on the one hand, the custom of raising a subject to the rank of Czarina was favourable to the ladies, there was another as much to their prejudice. This was, that the daughters of the Czar were very seldom married; so that they generally spent their days in a monastery.

The princes Sophia, third daughter of the Czar Alexis by the first venter, a lady of superior, but dangerous abilities, perceiving that her brother Theodore was very near his end, did not think proper to retire to a convent; but finding that she was

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likely to be left between two brothers, who were unqualified, the one by natural infirmities, and the other by infancy, for the reins of government, she formed a scheme for placing herself at the head of the empire. Hence in the last hours of the Czar Theodore, she attempted to act the part, that Pulcheria had formerly played with her brother the emperor Theodosius.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

# JOHN and PETER.

A terrible fedition among the Strelitzes.

Theodore\*, a terrible insurrection was occasioned among the Strelitzes, by the intrigues of the princes Sophia, who complained greatly of the nomination of a prince of ten years of age to the throne, and of the exclusion of the elder brother. Never did the pretorian guards, or Turkish Janissaries, behave with such barbarity. Within two days after the Czar Theodore's funeral, they arm, and repair in a body to the Cremmelin, which, as we have already observed, is the imperial

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<sup>\* 1682.</sup> Extracted intirely from the memoirs sent from Moscow and Petersburg.

palace at Moscow: there they begin with an accusation against nine of their colonels, for defrauding them of their pay. The ministry are obliged to break those officers, and to let the Strelitzes have the money demanded. Not satisfied with this, the soldiers insist that the nine officers shall be delivered up to them; and by a plurality of voices they condemn them to the batogs, a punishment inslicted in the following manner.

The criminal being stripped naked, and laid slat on his belly, two executioners are appointed to scourge him on the bare back with switches, till the judge commands them to desist. The colonels, after meeting with this treatment, were obliged to return thanks to the Strelitzes, pursuant to the practice of eastern nations, where criminals, after the execution of the sentence, must submit to kiss the judge's hand: but over and above the compliment of thanks, the officers gave them money, which was not indeed the custom.

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#### 104 JOHN AND PETER.

While the Strelitzes were thus spreading terror throughout the capital, the princess Sophia encouraged them under hand, in order to bring them on gradually to her wicked purpose. With this view she convened an affembly of the princesses of the blood, of the generals of the army, and of the boyars, with the patriarch, bishops, and even the principal merchants: there she represented to them, that prince John, by right of feniority and merit, ought to fucceed to the imperial dignity; but all this while, she intended to hold the reins of government in her own hands. As she withdrew from the assembly, she promised a further increase of pay, besides some presents, to the Strelitzes. Her emissaries, at the same time, inflamed the foldiers against the family of the Nariskins, and especially against the two brothers of the young Czarina dowager, the mother of Peter the First. The foldiers were made to believe that one of those brothers, named John, had put on the imperial robes, ascended the throne, and attempted to strangle prince John; it was

## JOHN AND PETER. 105

was moreover added, that Daniel Vongad, a Dutch physician, had poisoned the Czar Theodore. At length Sophia gives them a list of forty lords, whom she stiles enemies to their corps, and to the state; and as such declares them worthy of death. There cannot be a stronger image of Sylla's proscriptions, and of the Roman triumvirates. Christiern the Second renewed these shocking scenes in Denmark and Sweden; which shews that all countries have been subject to the like calamities, in times of anarchy and confusion.

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it vas The tragedy begins with throwing the knezes Dolgorouki and Maffeu \* out of the windows: the Strelitzes receive them on their pikes, and after stripping them naked, drag their bodies along the great square. This done, they rush into the palace, where meeting with one of the Czar Peter's uncles, Athanasius Nariskin, brother of the young Czarina, they massacre him in the same manner; then forcing the doors of a neighbouring church, where three of

Or Matheof.

# 106 JOHN AND PRTEE.

the profcribed had taken fanctuary, they drag them from the altar, strip them naked, and cut them in pieces with knives.

To fuch a pitch was their fury arrived, that a young lord of the house of Soltikof. a great favourite of theirs, and who was not in the lift of the profcribed, happening to pass by at that time; and one of their companions mistaking him for John Nariskin, of whom they were in search, they destroyed him in an instant. But what fhews the manners of those times; upon discovering their error, they carried the body of the young nobleman to his father, in order for interment; the unfortunate parent, far from daring to complain, gave them a confiderable reward for the mangled body of his fon. His lady, his daughters, and the wife of the deceased, with a flood of tears, reproached him for his weakness, Let us wait for an opportunity of being revenged, faid the old man; these words being overheard by some of the soldiers, they returned in a transport of rage into his

# JOHN AND PETER.

his apartment, then dragging the aged parent by the hair, they cut his throat at his own door. and the flow of a inside

In the mean time some of the other Strelitzes were in fearch of the Dutch phyfician, Vongad, and happening to meet his fon, they inquired after his father; the young man trembling, replied he did not know; upon which they cut his throat. Soon after a German physician falling in their way, "You are a doctor, faid they, " and if you have not poisoned our mafter " Theodore, you have poisoned others, and " therefore you merit death;" and faying this, they dispatched him in an instant

At length having discovered the Dutchman, who had difguifed himself in a beggar's habit, they dragged him before the palace. The princesses, fond of the good man, and repofing some confidence in his skill, begged hard for his life, affuring the Strelitzes, that he was a very skilful physician, and had taken great care of their brother Theodore. The foldiers made answer, that he not only deserved to die, as a phyfi-

maile

## 108 JOHN AND PETER.

physician, but likewise as a sorcerer; for they found the skeleton of a large toad, and the skin of a snake in his cabinet. They added further, that young Nariskin must absolutely be delivered up to them; that they had been fearthing for him in vain these two days; that he was certainly concealed in the palace; and they would fet fire to it immediately, unless they could feize on his person. The fifter of John Nariskin, and the other princesses, terrified with these menaces, repair to the place where this young nobleman lay concealed: the patriarch hears his confession, and administers the viaticum and extreme unction to him; then laying hold of an image of the virgin Mary, which was faid to perform miracles, he conducts the youth by the hand, and advances towards the Strelitzes, prefenting the image to their view. The princesses, dissolved in tears, encompass the victim, and kneeling down before the foldiers, intercede in the name of the virgin Mary for their relation's life; but the barbarians, regardless of the fup--Avdq pliant

pliant ladies, drag him away to the bottom of the stair-caise; where erecting a kind of tribunal, they put Nariskin, and the physician to the torture. One of the soldiers who could write, drew up an indictment against them; and the two unfortunates were condemned to be cut in pieces. This is the usual punishment of parricides in China and Tartary; and is called the punishment of ten thousand slices. After behaving in this manner to Nariskin and Vongad, they exposed their heads, feet, and hands, upon the iron points of a balustrade.

Whilst they were thus glutting their revenge in the presence of the princesses, the remainder of their corps laid violent hands on every body that was odious to them, or obnoxious to Sophia.

This horrid tragedy concluded with proclaiming the two princes John and Peter joint fovereigns \*, and affociating their fifter Sophia to the government, in the quality of co-regent. She approved of all

\* June 1682.

CHAP.

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# 110 JOHN AND PETER.

their outrages, conferred rewards upon them, confiscated the estates of the proscribed, and bestowed them upon the murderers; nay, she gave them permission to erect a monument, with an inscription containing the names of the persons they had massacred, who were represented as traitors to their country; lassly, she published letters patent, thanking them for their zeal and sidelity.

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# her native language; he both the and wrote Work T T A A H O of her persons about a new tanto to the color about

#### ADMINISTRATION

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# PRINCESS SOPHIA.

Extraordinary quarrel about religion. Con-

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Y these steps did the princess Sophia \*

By in reality ascend the throne of Rusfia, though she was not declared Czarina; and these were the first examples Peter
the Great had before his eyes. Sophia enjoyed all the honours of sovereignty; her bust
was on the public coin; her hand to all dispatches; she had the first seat in council, and

<sup>\*</sup> Extracted intirely from the memoirs communicated by the court of Petersburg.

#### 112 ADMINISTRATION OF

a power without control. She was not only very witty, but composed verses in her native language; she both spoke and wrote extremely well: the charms of her person added a new lustre to those abilities, which were thus sullied by her ambition.

She procured a wife for her brother John, in the manner already illustrated by several examples. A young lady of the house of Soltikof, and of the family of the nobleman of the same name, who had been murdered by the Strelitzes, was sent for from the heart of Siberia, where her father commanded a fortress, in order to be presented to John at Moscow. Her beauty triumphed over the artifices of all her rivals, and John was married to her in 1684. At every marriage of a Czar, it seems as if we were reading the history of Ahasuerus, or that of Theodosius the younger.

In the midst of the nuptial entertainments, the Strelitzes made another insurrection, (and who would have imagined it?) on the account of religion. Had they

# THE PRINCESS SOPHIA. 113

they been mere foldiers, they never would have become controvertists; but they were also citizens of Moscow. Whosoever has the knack of influencing the populace by his speeches, is capable of founding a sect, in any part of the world; of this we have had instances in all ages; especially ever since the passion of dogmatizing became the instrument of ambition, and the means of enslaving weak minds.

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Already had Ruffia experienced fome difturbances in confequence of the dispute about the fign of the cross whether it should be made with three fingers, or two. A priest, of the name of Abakum, had broached fome new doctrines at Moscow in regard to the Holy Spirit, who, purfuant to the evangelical revelation, illumines all the faithful; as likewife with respect to the lequality of the primitive Christians, and the following words of Christ, amongst you there shall neither be first nor last. Several burghers, and a great many of the Strelitzes, embraced the opinions of Abakum: the new doctrine gained ground; and one Rafpop ficulty

#### 114 ADMINISTRATION OF

Rafpop \* became the leader of the fect. At length those enthusiasts + rushed one day into the cathedral, at the time of divine fervice; and driving the patriarch and his clergy from thence with stones, devoutly placed themselves in the seats of those ecclesiastics, in order to receive the Holy Ghoft. They called the patriarch, the wolf in sheep's cloathing, a title which all fects have liberally bestowed upon one another. Immediately the princess Sophia and the two young Czars were informed of these disturbances; and the other Strelitzes, who maintained the good cause, were told that the Czars and the church were in danger. A party of the Strelitzes and the patriarchal burghers came to blows with the faction of the Abakumists; but as soon as mention was made of convening a council, the carmage ceafed. Accordingly a council was forthwith called in a hall of the palace: the convocation was attended with no dif-

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Rafpop is not a proper name, in which fense M. de Voltaire feems to have taken this word in but figuifies a degraded prieft. † 1682. July 16, N. S.

ficulty; and all the priests that could be sound, were summoned. The patriarch and a bishop entered into a dispute with Raspep; but upon coming to a second syllogism, they pelted one another with stones. The council ended with beheading the leader, and some of his faithful disciples, who were put to death by the sole order of the three sovereigns, Saphia, John, and Peter.

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During this time of confusion, there was a knez, named Chowanski, who having contributed to the elevation of the princess Sophia, wanted, as a reward of his fervices, to come in for a share of the government. It is indeed believed, that he met with ingratitude on the part of the princefs. Having fided with the devotees, and the perfecuted Ruspopites, he also raised a party composed of the Swelitzes and the people, in defence of the cause of God. This conspiracy was of a more ferious nature than the enthusiastical behaviour of Raspops for ancombitious hypocrite is fure to carry matters to a greater length than a simple fanatic. Chowantki, in short, aimed at the imperial dignity. nogU In

#### 116 ADMINISTRATION OF

In order to have nothing henceforward to fear, he refolved to maffacre the two Czars, and Sophia, with the other princeffes, and all that were attached to the imperial family. The Czars and the princesses were obliged to retire to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, within twelve leagues of Moscow. It was at the same time a convent, a palace, and a fortress, like Mount Caffino, Corby, Fulda, Kempten, and a great many others in the Latin church. This monastery of the Trinity belongs to the monks of St. Bahl: it is encompassed with deep ditches, and brick ramparts, on which is planted a numerous artillery. The monks were possessed of all the circumjacent country for the space of four leagues. The imperial family were now in full fafety, rather from the strength than from the fanctity of the place. Here it was that Sophia negotiated with the rebel; and having decoyed him to come half way. The caufed him to be beheaded, together with one of his fons, and thirty feven Strelitzes who accompanied him to lairequi od ice, bemis

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#### THE PRINCESS SOPHIA. 117

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Upon the spreading of this news, the body of Strelitzes fly to their arms, and march to the convent of the Trinity, threatening death and destruction: the imperial family intrench themselves; the boyars arm their vasfals; all the gentlemen of the country flock to the convent; and the empire feems to be at the eve of a bloody civil war. The patriarch in some measure appeales the Strelitzes, who begin to be intimidated, upon hearing of the troops which are marching on all fides against them; their fury is soon succeeded by fear, and their fear by the most abject submission, a change not at all uncommon with the multitude. Three thousand seven hundred of this corps, followed by their wives and children, go in procession, with halters about their necks, to that very convent of the Trinity, which three days before they had threatened to reduce to ashes. In this condition the unhappy wretches proceed two and two, carrying a block and a hatchet; then proftrating themselves on the reforming ground.

#### 118 ADMINISTRATION OF

but being pardoned, they return to Moscow, bleffing their fovereigns; still disposed, though unknown to themselves, to commit the same crime upon the first opportunity.

These convulsions being ended, the state recovered its tranquillity. Sophia was still possessed of the chief authority ! Peter being held in tutelage, and John abandoned to his incapacity. In order to strengthen her power, she shared it with prince Basil Galitzen, creating him generalissimo, minister of state, and lord keeper; a man superior in every respect to any other person in that tempestuous court; a man not only polite, -but magnificent; full of grand-defigns; and learned far beyond any of his countrymen, by his fuperior education; having made himself master even of the Latin tongue, at that time almost utterly unknown in Russia: a man of an active spirit, of indefatigable application; in fhort, a genius superior to the times he lived in, and capable, had he leisure and power as he had inclination, of bnuora reforming reforming the manners of Russia. This is the elogium given of him by La Neuville, at that time the Polish envoy in Russia; and the elogiums of foreigners are the least liable to suspicion.

This minister gave a check to the Strelitzes, by distributing the most mutinous of that corps among the feveral regiments in the Ukrain, in Cafan, and Siberia. It was under his administration, viz. in the year 1686, that Poland, which had been long the rival of Russia, ceded all her pretensions to the large provinces of Smolenthe and the Ukrain. He was the first mihister of this country, that fent an embassy into France; which was in 1687, when that kingdom had been twenty years in the zenith of its glory, by its numerous conquests, by the new institutions and magnificence of Lewis XIV, and especially by the improvement of the liberal arts, without which a prince may have external grandeur, but no folid glory. France as yet had entered into no correspondence with Ruffia; nay, the feemed to be altogether undiado I 4 acquainted

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#### 120 ADMINISTRATION OF

acquainted with this empire; and the academy of inscriptions distinguished this embassy by a medal, as if it came from India. But in spite of the medal, the ambassador Dolgorouki miscarried in his negotiation, and even underwent a good deal of uneasiness, from the ill conduct of his domestics. It would have been better to have overlooked their mistakes: but little did the court of Lewis XIV at that time foresee, that Russia and France would one day esteem it a considerable advantage to be united in a close alliance.

Russia now enjoyed internal tranquillity: she was still pent up on the side of Sweden, but had begun to extend herself towards Poland, her new ally; from Crim Tartary she received frequent alarms; and there was a missunderstanding between her and China in regard to their frontiers.

There was another circumstance at this time, which gave great uneasiness to the Moscovites, and plainly shews that their empire had not as yet attained to a regular and vigorous administration: this was the cham

#### THE PRINCESS SOPHIA. 121

chain of Crim Tartary's demanding of Ruffia an annual tribute of fixty thousand rubles, in the nature of that which the Turks had laid on Poland.

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Crim Tartary is the ancient Taurica Cherfonefus, celebrated in history by the commerce of the Greeks, and still more by their fables: a fruitful, but barbarous country; called Crim from the title of their first khans, who took this name before the conquests of the sons of Jenghiz. In order to shake off this yoke, and to be avenged of the difgrace, the prime minister Galitzin marched into Crim Tartary at the head of a numerous body of forces \*. Those armies were not to be compared to the present troops of Russia; they had no fort of discipline; the regiments were neither well armed, nor clad in uniform; in short, they were intire strangers to regularity. It is true, the men were inured to labour and hard living; but they had fuch an incumberance of baggage, as is not to be matched, even in our

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#### T22 ADMINISTRATION OF

most luxurious camps. This prodigious number of earts and waggons, for convey. ing ammunition and provisions through an uninhabited country, was of great prejudice to the expedition against CrimTartary. The Ruffian troops found themselves in a vast defert on the river Samara, without magazines. In this dreary waste, Galitzin did what in my opinion was never done any where elfe; he employed thirty thousand men in building a town upon the Samara, in order to erect magazines for the next campaign. It was begun this year, and finished the next in three months: the houses indeed were of wood, except two of brick, and the ramparts were of turf, but well lined with artillery, and in a good state of defence and a sudgicilib to mol on

Nothing more was effected of any confequence, in this ruinous expedition. In the mean while Sophia continued to govern, John had only the name of Czar; and Peter, now at the age of feventeen, had the courage to aim at more than a titular fove-reignty. La Neuville, the Polish envoy, who

#### THE PRINCESS SOPHIA who, at that time refided at Moscow, and was eve-witness to what passed, afferts that Sophia and Galitzin engaged the new chief of the Strelitzes to facrifice the young Czar to their ambition. It appears at leaft. that fix hundred of those soldiers were to seize on that prince's person. The secret memoirs, with which I have been entrusted by the court of Russia, affirm, that a scheme had been laid to murder Peter the First. The blow was upon the point of being ftruck; and Russia very near being deprived of a prince, from whom she has since received a new exiftence. The Czar was once more obliged to fave himself in the convent of the Trinity; the usual fanctuary of the court, when menaced by the mutinous foldiery. There he convokes the boyars of his party, affembles a body of forces, treats with the captains of the Strelitzes, fends for some Germans, who had been long fettled in Moscow, and were all attached to his perfon, from his already shewing a regard to foreigners. Sophia and John did not stir from

Moscow, but used all their endeavours to keep

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#### 124 ADMINISTRATION OF

the Strelitzes in their interest : yet as Peter complained of a defign against himself and his mother; his cause prevailed over that of a princels and of a Czar, whole prefence alone inspired contempt. All the accomplices were punished with great severity, according to the custom of that country, where heinous crimes and rigorous executions were very frequent: feveral were beheaded, after having undergone the punishment of the knout or of the batogs. In this manner was the chief of the Strelitzes executed: but others who were only suspected, had their tongues cut out. Prince Galitzen escaped with his life, by the intercession of a relation, who was a favourite of the Czar Peter: but he forfeited his estate. which was immense; and the Czar banished him to the neighbourhood of Archangel. La Neuville, who was present at this whole catastrophe, takes notice that Galitzin's sentence was expressed in the following terms: Thou art commanded by the most merciful Czar, to retire to Karga, a town under the pole, and there to continue the remainder

# THE PRINCESS SOPHIA. 125 mainder of thy days. His majesty out of his excessive goodness allows thee three pence per day.

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There is no town under the pole. Karga is in the fixty-second degree of latitude, only fix degrees and a half further north than Moscow. The person who pronounced this sentence must have been a very bad geographer: but it is said, that La Neuville was imposed upon by a false account.

The scene concluded with confining the princes Sophia once more to her monastery at Moscow, after she had long held the reins of government; and this revolution was to her a considerable punishment.

From that period Peter was real fovereign. His brother John had no other share in the government, than that of lending his name to the public acts: he led a retired life, and died in 1696.

of all real abilities; to this folidity was joined an active disparsation, which fet him upon the most arduous undertakings. List his education was far from being worthy of his genius; it had been spoils chiefly by the princess.

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THE PRINCESS SORIA. 125

## There is no town under the pole Karga

### only fix degrees and a half further north

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### was imposed upon by a falle account. Transfer Tonothed Rid The Part P. Transfer.

Beginning of the great reformation.

the princefs Sophia once more to her, mo

ETER the Great was tall, and remarkably well shaped: he had a noble countenance, eyes that sparkled with vivacity, and a robust constitution, well adapted to all sorts of hardship and bodily exercise: his judgment was sound, which may be justly deemed the soundation of all real abilities: to this solidity was joined an active disposition, which set him upon the most arduous undertakings. But his education was far from being worthy of his genius: it had been spoilt chiefly by the princess

princess Sophia, whose interest it was to leave him in ignorance, and to indulge him in those excesses, which in persons of his rank, age, and circumstances, it had been but too much the custom to overlook. Yet he had been lately married , in the fame manner, as the preceding Czars, to one of his subjects, the daughter of colonel Lapuchin: but being young, and for fome time enjoying none of the prerogatives of the crown, except that of the uncontrolled indulgence of his pleasures, he was not fufficiently reffrained by the folern ties of wedlock. From his feating and carrousing with foreigners, who had been invited to Moscow by prince Galitzin, no body would have suspected, that he was to be one day the reformer of his country: however, in spite of bad example, and in spite even of his strong propensity to pleasure, he applied himself to the military art, and to civil government; which shewed, even then, that he had fome feeds of greatness. upon him; and after his receiving neguined feel a desc

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Much less was it expected, that a prince + who had such a dread of water from his infancy, as to be seized with a cold sweat and with convulsions, even in being obliged to pass over a brook, should become the best mariner in all the north. He began to conquer nature by jumping into the water; and his aversion was ever after changed into a prodigious fondness for that element.

Ashamed of the ignorance in which he had been brought up, he learnt almost of himself, and without a master; a sufficient stock of High and Low Durch, to speak and write intelligibly in both those languages. The Germans and Hollanders he considered as the most civilized nations, because the former had already erected some of

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<sup>†</sup> The cause of this aversion, is thus mentioned by Strahlemberg. When he was about five years of age, his mother went with him in a coach, in the spring season; and passing over a damm, where there was a water-fall or cataract, and he lying in his mother's lap asseep, he was so frightened by the rushing of the water, that it brought a sever upon him; and after his recovery, he retained such a dread of that element, that he could not bear to see any standing water, much less to hear a running stream.

those arts and manufactures in Moscow, which he was desirous of spreading throughout his empire; and the latter excelled in the art of navigation, which he considered as the most necessary of all others.

Such were the dispositions of this prince, notwithstanding the follies of his youth. In the mean while his situation was very critical, being obliged to guard against the different factions of the nobility, to check the mutinous temper of the Strelitzes, and to defend himself against the Crim Tartars, with whom he was almost constantly at war. Hostilities however had been suspended in 1689, by a truce of no long continuance.

During this interval, Peter was confirmed in the resolution of introducing the liberal arts into his country.

His father Alexis had formerly the same views, but never met with a favourable opportunity: he transmitted his genius to his son, who had still a clearer idea of these matters than his father, with more vigour, and resolution, to surmount every difficulty.

Memelie of Ferenburg and Mallow.

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#### 130 THE REIGN OF

Alexis had been at great expence \* in fending for Bothler a shipbuilder and sea captain from Holland, with a number of carpenters and feamen. These people built a large frigate and a yacht upon the Wolga, with which they fell down that river to Astracan: they were to be employed in constructing more velfels, in order to carry on an advantageous trade with Perfia, by means of the Cafpian Sea. Then happened the revolt of Stenko-Rafin, who destroyed the two veffels, which he ought to have preserved for his own sake, and murdered the captain: the remainder of the Thip's crew fled into Persia, and reached some of the fettlements belonging to the East-India company. A mafter carpenter, who was a very good shipwright, staid behind in Russia, where he lived a long time in obscurity.

As Peter was one day walking in the court at Ismaelof, a summer palace built by his grandfather, he perceived, among other rarities, an old English shallop, almost

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Memoirs of Petersburg and Moscow.

#### PETER THE FIRST.

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fallen to pieces. Upon which he asked Timmerman, his mathematical teacher, and a native of Germany, how that little boat came to be of a different construction from those which he had seen upon the Moska? Timmerman answered, that it was made to go with sails, or with oars. The young prince immediately wanted to make a trial of it: but they were obliged to look out for a person, who could repair, and sit it for service; and after a long search, they found this very shipwright Brant, who was retired to Moscow. The Dutchman put it in order, and sailed with it on the river Yauza, which washes the suburbs of the town.

Peter caused this boat to be removed to a great lake in the neighbourhood of the convent of the Trinity; where he made the Dutchman build two frigates and three yachts, and piloted them himself. A long time after, viz. in 1694, he took a journey to Archangel, where he ordered this same Dutchman to build him a small vessel, in which he embarked on the frozen ocean, that had been never beheld by any sove-

reign before him: on this occasion he was escorted by a Dutch man of war, under the commnad of captain Josson, and attended by all the merchant vessels in the harbour of Archangel. He had already learnt the manner of working of a ship; and notwithstanding the eagerness of courtiers in general to imitate the example of their sovereigns, he was the only person that learnt this art.

To raise a body of land-forces well disciplined, and fond of the service, was as difficult an undertaking, as to establish a navy. His first essay in navigation upon the abovementioned lake, before his journey to Archangel, had been looked upon as the amusement of a young prince of genius; and his first attempt to form a body of disciplined troops, had likewise the appearance of being only a scheme of diversion. This happened during the administration of the princess Sophia; and had there been the least suspicion of its being a serious affair, the consequence might have proved fatal to our young hero.

He placed his whole confidence in a foreigner, the celebrated Le Fort, of a noble and ancient family of Piedmont, transplanted near two centuries ago to Geneva, where it has viilled the first employments in the state. His parents would fain have brought him up to trade, to which this city owes its present importance, having before that time been remarkable only for religious controversies.

But his genius prompting him to great undertakings, he quitted his father's house at the age of fourteen, and was four years a cadet in the citadel of Marfeilles. From thence he went to Holland, and having ferved for fome time as a volunteer, he was wounded at the fiege of Grave upon the Meuse, a very strong town which the prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, retook from Lewis XIV, in 1674. The expectation of further preferment, and indeed of making his fortune, induced him afterwards to embark in 1675, in company with a German colonel, named Verstin, who had obtained a commission from Peneither

ter's father, the Czar Alexis, to raife a few troops in the Netherlands, and to transport them to Archangel. But when he arrived at that port, after a most perilous navigation, the Czar Alexis was no more; the government had undergone fome change, and Muscovy was in an unsettled fate. Things being thus fituated, the governor of Archangel fuffered Verstin. Le Fort, and his whole troop, for a long time to languish with want, and even threatened to fend them to the extremity of Siberia. Every man then shifted for himself. Le Fort being in great necessity, repaired to Moscow, where he offered his fervice to De Horn, the Danish resident, who made him his fecretary. There he learned the Ruffian language; and fome time after found an opportunity of being introduced to the Czar Peter, knowing that it would be of no use to him to be presented to John the elder brother. Peter took a liking to him, and immediately gave him a captain of foot's commission. Le Fort did not understand much of the military fervice, neither

neither was he a man of literature, having applied himself deeply to no one particular art or science; but he had seen a great deal, and was capable of forming a right judgment of what he faw: like the Czar, he was indebted for every thing to his own genius: besides, he understood the High and Low Dutch languages, which Peter was learning at that time, in hopes that both those nations would facilitate his defigns. Finding himfelf intirely agreeable to Peter, he attached himself to that prince's fervice: by administering to his pleasures he became his favourite; and confirmed this intimacy by his abilities. The Czar entrusted him with the most dangerous defign a Ruffian fovereign could then possibly form, that of abolishing the feditious and barbarous body of forces, called the Strelitzes. It had cost the great fultan Osman his life, for attempting to reform the Janizaries. Peter, young as he was, went to work in a much abler manner than Ofman. He began with forming, at his country relidence of Preobra-

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zinski, a company of fifty of his youngest domestics; and some of the sons of boyars were chosen for their officers. But in order to teach those young boyars a subordination, with which they were wholly unacquainted, he made them pass through all the military degrees, fetting them an example himself, and serving successively as private centinel, ferjeant, and lieutenant of the company. This was a very extraordinary conduct, but of infinite use to the state: for hitherto the Muscovites had made war, after the manner of our ancestors at the time of the feudal tenures; when a number of vaffals, undisciplined and illarmed, were led against the enemy by their lords, who had not the least share of experience; a very rude method of wiging war, fufficient indeed for acting against the fame kind of armies, but of no use against regular troops. All and about of

This company, which had been raised by Peter only, soon increased in numbers, and was afterwards the regiment of Preobrazinski guards. Another company formed

in heir

on the fame plan, became in time the regiment of guards, known by the name of Semenowsky missirio suomiob saw rors

The Czar had now a regiment of five thousand men on foot, on whom he could depend; trained by general Gordon, a Scotchman, and composed almost intirely of foreigners. Le Fort, who had feen very little fervice, yet was qualified for any commission, undertook to raise a regiment of twelve thousand men, and effected his defign. Five colonels were appointed to ferve under him; and fuddenly he was made general of this little army, which had been raifed as much to oppose the Strelitzes, as the enemies of the state.

One thing we ought to observe \*, which indeed confounds the impertinence of those, who pretend that France lost very few inhabitants by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, viz. that one third of this army, which was only called a regiment, confisted of French refugees. Le Fort disciplined his new corps emon

<sup>·</sup> General Le Fort's Manuscripts.

#### 138 THE REIGNOUT

with as much exactness, as if he had followed this exercise all his life.

Peter was defirous of feeing one of those mock fights, which had been lately introduced in times of peace. He caused a fort to be erected, which one part of his new troops were to defend, and the other to attack. The difference on this occasion was that instead of exhibiting a sham engagement, they fought a downright battle, in which there were feveral foldiers killed, and a great many wounded. Le Fort, who commanded the attack, received a confiderable wound. These bloody sports were intended to inure the troops to martial discipline; but it was a long time before this could be effected, and not without a great deal of labour and difficulty. In the midft of these military entertainments, the Czar did not neglect the navy: and as he had made Le Fort a general, notwithstanding this favourite had never borne any commiffion by land; so he raised him to the rank of admiral, though he had never before . com-

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PETER THE FIRST. 139 commanded at sea. But he knew him to be worthy of both commissions. True it

is, he was an admiral without a fleet; and a general without any other troops than his

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By degrees the Czar began to reform the chief abuse in the army; viz. the independence of the boyars, who in time of war used to take the field with a multitude of their vassals and peasants. Such was the government of the Franks, of the Huns, of the Goths, and Vandals, who indeed subdued the Roman empire in its state of decline, but would have been easily destroyed, had they contended with the warlike legions of the ancient Romans, or with such armies as in our times are maintained in constant discipline all over Europe.

Admiral Le Fort had foon more than an empty title; he employed both Dutch and Venetian carpenters to build fome long-boats, and even two thirty-gun ships, at the mouth of the Veronise, which discharges itself into the Tanais. These vessels were

#### 140 THE REIGN &C. 9

to fall down the river, and to awe the Crim Tartars, with whom hostilities had been renewed. The Czar was to determine, in 1689, against which of the following powers he should declare war, whether against Turky, Sweden, or China. But we must previously shew upon what terms he then stood with China, and which was the first treaty of peace concluded by that eastern nation.



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#### CHAPTER VII.

#### CONGRESS and TREATY

With the CHINESE\*.

right idea of the boundaries of the Chinese and Russian empires. After passing through Siberia, properly so called, and leaving far away to the south a hundred hords of Tartars, with white and black Calmucks, and Moguls of the Mahometan and Pagan religion, you advance to the hundred and thirtieth degree of longitude, and sifty second of latitude, upon the river Amur. To the northward there is a great chain of mountains, extending to the frozen sea beyond the polar circle. This river runs the space of sive hundred leagues through Siberia and Chinese Tartary, and after so

edrapode with all become another bas

<sup>\*</sup> Extracted from memoirs sent from China, also from those of Petersburg, and from letters published in Du Hald's History of China.

#### 142 CONGRESS AND TREATY

long a course empties itself into the sea of Kamtshatka. At the mouth of this river. they are faid to have a fish, of a much larger fize than the hippopotamus of the Nile, and that the tooth thereof is a much harder and whiter ivory. It is further pretended, that this was formerly a material of traffic, and that they used to convey it through Siberia; which is the reason that many of them are still found buried in the fields. This is the most probable account of their fossil ivory, of which we have already made mention; for it feems quite chimerical to pretend, that formerly there were elephants in Siberia.

The Amur is stiled the Black River by the Mantchoux Tartars, and the Dragon River by the Chinese.

It was in this part of the world +, which for so many ages had been never heard of by other nations, that the Chinese and Russians were disputing about the limits of their empire. The Russians were pos-

<sup>†</sup> Memoirs of the Jesuits Persira and Gerbillon.

feffed of fome forts towards the river Amur. within three hundred leagues of the great wall. There had been feveral hostilities committed by both nations, on account of those forts; till at length they came to a right understanding, with respect to their real interests. The emperor Cambi preferring peace and commerce to an unprofitable war, fent feven ambaffadors to Niptchou, one of those fettlements. The ambaffadors had ten thousand men in their retinue, including their efcort. This was Afiatic pomp; but it is very remarkable, that there had been no instance in the annals of the empire, of an embally to a foreign power: and what indeed is fingular in its kind, the Chinese had never concluded a treaty of peace fince the foundation of their monarchy. Though twice conquered by the Tartars, who were both times the aggreffors, they never made war against any nation, except against a few hords, which were either quickly subdued, or left to themfelves without concluding any treaty. Thus these people, so famous for their know-

#### 144 CONGRESS AND TREATY

ledge of morality, were strangers to what we call the law of nations, that is, to vague rules of war and peace, to the privileges of foreign ministers, to the formality of treaties, with the obligations from thence resulting; and lastly, to the disputes concerning precedency and point of honour.

But the difficulty was to know in what language the Chinese could possibly negotiate with the Russians in the midst of deferts. This was removed by two lefuits, the one a Portuguese, named Pereira; the other a Frenchman, whose name was Gerbillon: they fet out from Pekin along with the Chinese ambassadors, and were the real negotiators. They conferred in Latin with a German belonging to the Ruffian embaffy, who understood this language. The head of the Russian embassy was Gollowin, governor of Siberia, who had a more splendid retinue, than the Chinese themfelves, and thereby gave a high idea of the Ruffian empire to a people, who looked upon their own government, as the only power upon earth. The Jesuits fixed the limits of both eshol

#### WITH THE CHINESE. 145

both empires, at the river Kerbechi, near the spot where the treaty was concluded. The country south of that river was adjudged to the Chinese, the north to the Russians, who lost only a small fort, which happened to have been built beyond the limits. A peace was agreed to; and after some contests, both the Russians and Chinese swore to it in these terms: If any of us entertains the least thought of renewing the slames of war, we beseech the supreme Lord of all things, who knows the heart of man, to punish the traiter with sudden death.

From this form of treaty, figned by the Chinese and by Christians, we may infer two points of great importance; the first, that those who administer the Chinese government, are neither atheists nor idolaters, as they have been so often represented by contradictory implications; the second, that all civilized nations, in effect acknowledge the same God, notwithstanding the particular errors they may labour under, from the prejudice of education. The treaty was reduced into Latin,

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and two copies were made of it. The Ruffian ambassadors set their names the first to the copy left in their possession; and the Chinese also figned theirs the first, according to the European manner of treating between equal powers. On this occasion was observed another custom of the Asiatic nations, and indeed of the earliest ages; they engraved the treaty on two large pillars, erected on the spot, to determine the boundaries of the two empires. Three years after this, the Czar fent a Danish gentleman, Mr. Isbrand Ide, upon an embaffy to China; in consequence of which, an advantageous commerce fubfifted between the two nations till the rupture in 1722; but fince this interruption, it has been refumed again with new vigour.



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### CONQUEST OF ASOPH.

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The Czar sends young gentlemen into foreign countries, for their improvement.

with the Turks; this even feemed a proper time for the Czar to raife himfelf on their rain. The Venetians, whom they had long overpowered, began to retrieve their losses. Morofini, the fame who furrendered Candia to the Turks, was diffeossessed them of Peloponnesses, whereby bus L 2 he

he obtained the title of Peloponnefian, an honour that revived the memory of the Roman republic. Leopold, emperor of Germany, had gained fome advantages over the Ottoman forces in Hungary; and the Poles were at least able to repel the incurfions of the Crim Tartars.

Peter improved these circumstances, to difcipline his troops, and to acquire, if possible, the empire of the Black Sea. General Gordon marched along the Tanais towards Afoph, with his numerous regiment of five thousand men; he wasfollowed by general Le Fort with his regiment of twelve thousand; by a body of Strelitzes under the command of Scheremetow, and Shein, officers of Pruffian extraction; by a body of Cossacks, and by a large train of artillery. In fhort, every thing was ready for this grand expedition \*.

The Russian army began its march under the command of marshal Scheremetow +, in the beginning of the summer of 1695, in order to attack the town of Asoph, situated at the mouth of the Tanais, or river Don,

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and at the further extremity of the Palus Maotis, now called the Zabac Sea. The Czar was with the troops, but appeared only as a volunteer, being defirous to learn, before he would take upon him to command. During their march, they stormed two forts, which the Turks had erected on the banks of the river.

This was an arduous enterprize; Asoph being very strong, and defended by a numerous garrison. The Czar had employed several Venetians in building long boats like the Turkish saicks, which together with two Dutch frigates, were to fall down the Veronise; but not being ready in time, they could not get into the sea of Asoph. All beginnings are difficult. The Russians having never as yet made a regular siege, miscarried in this their first attempt.

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A native of Dantzick, whose name was faceb, had the direction of the artillery under the command of general Shein; for as yet they had none but foreign officers belonging to the train, and indeed none but foreign engineers, and foreign pilots.

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This Jacob had been condemned to the botogs by Shein, the Pruffian general. It feemed as if these severities were necessary at that time, in support of authority. Ruffians submitted to such treatment, notwithstanding their disposition to mutiny; and after they had undergone that corporal punishments they continued in the service as ufual, as Our Dantzicker was of another way of thinking, and determined to be revenged as whereupon he nailed up the cannon, defected to the enemy, turned Mahometano and defended the town with great fuccels la This example thews that the lenity noiv used in Muscovy is preferable to the aucient rigour, and a more effectual method of keeping men to their duty, who by amisimprovement in their veducation, have impibed forme notions of honour. At that time it was necessary to treat the lower class of people with great feverity; but fince their manners are changed, the clemency of the empress Elizabeth, has completed the work, which her august father began to effectuate by the authority of laws. aidT The The lenity of this princess has been carried to a degree unparalleled in the hiftory of any nation. She has promifed, that during her reign no body shall be put to death; and the has kept her word. is the first sovereign that ever shewed this regard to the human species. factors are now condemned to ferve in the mines, and other public works; a regulation not less prudent than humane, fince it renders their punishment of some advantage to the state. In other countries they only know how to put a criminal to death, with the apparatus of an executioner; but are not able to prevent the commission of crimes. The terror of death does not perhaps make fuch an impression on evil doers, who are generally given to idleness, as the fear of chaffifement and hard labour, renewed every day.

To return to the flege of Afoph, which was now defended by the person, who had before directed the approaches; the besiegers made a vain attempt to storm the town,

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and after losing a great number of men were obliged to raise the siege. weah is of

Perseverance in his undertakings, was the characteristic of Peter the Great. In the spring of 1696 he marched a second time, to attack the town of Afoph with a more confiderable army. About this time died the Czar John. Though Peter never felt any diminution of his authority from his brother, who had only the name of Czar, yet he had been under fome restraint in regard to appearances. The expences of John's houshold were applied, upon that prince's demise, to the maintenance of the army; a very confiderable relief to a government, that had not near fo large a revenue as at present. Peter wrote to the emperor Leopold, to the States General, and to the elector of Brandenburg, in order to obtain engineers, gunners, and feamen. He likewise took some Calmucks into his pay, whose light-horse are of very great fervice against the Crim Tartars.

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The most agreeable part of the Czar's fuccess, was that of his little fleet, which he had the pleasure to fee completely equipped, and properly commanded. It beat the Turkish saicks that had been fent from Constantinople, and took some of them from the enemy. The fiege was carried on regularly, though not entirely after our manner. The trenches were three times deeper than ours, and the parapets were as high as ramparts, At length the garrison surrendered, the 28th of July, N. S. \* without obtaining any of the honours of war; they were likewise obliged to deliver up the traitor Faceb to the befiegers. a poorgial the monoil ni modificance

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The Czar immediately began to improve the fortifications of Afoph, with variety of outworks: he likewise ordered a harbour to be dug capable of holding large vessels, with a design to make himself master of the streights of Cassa, or the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which opens the passage into the Euxine or Black Sea, places celebrated in history for the ar-

maments of Mithridates. He left two and thirty armed faicks before Afoph +, and made all the preparations for fitting out a firong fleet against the Turks, which was to confid of mine fixty gun thips, and of one and forty carrying from thirty to fifty pieces of cannon. The principal nobility, and the wealthiest merchants were obliged to contribute to the fitting out of this fleet; and as he apprehended that the estates of the dergy ought to bear a proportion in the fervice of the common cause, orders were iffued out that the patriarch, the bishops, and the superior clergy; should find money to forward this new expedition, in honour of their country, and for the general advantage of Christendom. He likewise obliged the Coffacks to build a number of light boats, fuch as they ofe themfelves, and with which they might eafly talest the whole coast of Crim Tartary, The Turks were to be alarmed with this great armament; the first that ever had been attempted on the Palus Meetis. The Icheme

+ Le Pares Memoirs.

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was to drive the Tartars and Turks for ever out of the Taurica Cherfonefus, and afterwards to establish a free and easy commerce with Persia through Georgia. This is the very branch of trade which the Greeks formerly carried on to Colchis, and to this peninsula of Crim Tartary, which the Czar seemed likely to subdue.

After his successful campaign against the Turks and Tartars, he was willing to accustom his people to splendid shows, as well as to military toil. With this view he made his army enter Moscow under triumphal arches, in the midft of fire-works and other rejoicings, intended to decorate the folemnity. The foldiers, who had fought on board the Venetian faicks against the Turks, moved first in procession. Marshal Scheremetow, the generals Gordon and Shein, admiral Le Fort, and the other general officers, took the precedency of their fovereign, who pretended he had no rank in the army, being defirous to convince the nobility by his example, that merit ought to be the only road to military preferment. Moved This

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This triumphal entry seemed in some measure to resemble those of the ancient Romans, especially in this, that as the triumphers exposed the captives to public view in the streets of Rome, and sometimes put them to death; in the same manner, the slaves taken in this expedition followed the army; and Jacob, who had betrayed them the year before, was carried in a cart, with the gibbet, to which he was fastened, after he had been broke upon the wheel.

Upon this occasion was struck the first medal in Russia. The legend, which was in the language of that country, is remarkable: Peter the First, the august emperor of Muscovy. On the reverse is Asoph with these words, victorious by fire and water.

Notwithstanding this success, Peter was very much grieved that all his ships and gallies in the sea of Asoph should be built by foreigners. Besides, he had as strong a desire to have a harbour upon the Baltic, as upon the Euxine Sea.

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Moved by these considerations, he, in 1697, fent threescore young Russians of Le Fort's regiment into Italy, most of them to Venice, and the rest to Leghorn, in order to learn the art of navigation, and the method of constructing gallies \*: forty more fet out by his direction for Holland, with an intent to instruct themselves in the art of building and working large ships: others were appointed for Germany, to serve in the land-forces, and to learn the military discipline of that nation. At length he refolved to absent himself for a few years from his own dominions, with a view of improving himself in the different branches of government. He could not withstand the temptation of having recourse to his own observation and experience, in order to perfect himself in the knowledge of naval affairs, and of the several arts which he longed to introduce among his subjects. With this view, he proposed travelling incognito to Rome, through Denmark, Brandenburg, Holland, Vienna, and Venice. In

<sup>\*</sup> MSS. of general Le Fort.

this tour Spain and France were omifted; the former, because his favourite arts were upon the decline in that part of Europe; the latter, because perhaps he was displeased with the vanity of the French nation: befides, the parade and state of Lewis XIV, which had given offence to fo many potentates, might not be agreeable to a prince, who intended to travel merely for his improvement, and without any restraint of pomp and ceremony. He was moreover connected with most of the powers, whom he intended to vifit, except those of France and Rome. To which we may add, that he bore a kind of grudge to Lewis XIV for a difregard shewn by that prince to the Ruffian embaffy, in 1687, which had been more the subject of public discourse, than productive of any advantage. Laftly, he had already espoused the interests of Augustus elector of Saxony, with whom the prince of Conti had lately entered into a competition for the crown of Poland.

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# PETER the GREAT.

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AVING taken the refolution to vifit incognito the several countries and \* courts before mentioned, he went \* in the retinue of the three ambassadors. in the fame manner as he had mingled with the train of his generals, at his triumphant entry into Moscow.

+ The three ambaffadors were general Le Fort, the boyar Alexis Gollowin, commissary general of war, and governor of Siberia, the same who had signed the treaty of peace with the plenipotentiaries of China perform mileto mannelle cheome

<sup>+</sup> Memoirs of Petersburg, and Memoirs of Le Fort.

on the frontiers of that empire; and Vonitfin, diak or fecretary of state, who had been long employed in foreign courts. The chief retinue of this embassy were the four principal fecretaries, twelve gentlemen, two pages to each ambassador, and a company of fifty guards with their officers, belonging to the regiment of Preobrazinski, the whole confifting of two hundred persons: the Czar reserving to himself only a valet de chambre, a fervant in livery, and a dwarf, was confounded in the crowd. It was a thing unparalleled in history, either ancient or modern, for a fovereign of five and twenty years of age, to withdraw from his kingdoms, only in order to learn the art of government. His victory over the Turks and Tartars, the splendor of his triumphant entry into Moscow, the multitude of foreign troops attached to his interest, the death of his brother John, the confinement of the princess Sophia to a cloister, but above all, the general respect shewn to his person, might naturally encourage him to hope, that the tranquillity of his dominions would

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PETER THE GREAT. 161 would not be at all disturbed during his absence. The regency he entrusted to the boyar Strecknef, and to the knez Romado-nouski, who in matters of importance were to consult with the rest of the nobility.

by general Gordon, continued at Moscow, with a view to awe the capital. Those Strelitzes, who were likely to create a disturbance, were distributed on the frontiers of Crim Tartary, in order to preserve the conquest of Asoph, and to check the incursions of the Tartars. Having thus provided against every incident, he gave a free scope to his passion of travelling, and to his desire of improvement.

This voyage having been the occasion or pretence of that bloody war, which so long obstructed, but at length contributed to promote, the noble designs of Peter the Great; which dethroned Augustus king of Poland; which bestowed a crown on king Stanislaus, and snatched it away from him, as it were the next moment; which raised Charles XII, king of Sweden,

Sweden, to the highest pitch of military glory, during the space of mine years, and reduced him to be the sport of fortune for mine years more; it is proper, before we enter into a particular narrative of these transactions, to give a sketch of the general state of Europe at that period.

Sultan Multapha the Second was seated on the Turkish throne. His administration was impotent and feeble: he made no great efforts, either against Leopold emperor of Germany, whose arms were successful in Hungary; or against the Czar, who had lately taken Asoph, and threatened to make himself master of the Euxine Sea; or even against the Venetians, who at length possessed themselves of the whole province of Peloponnesus.

John Sobielki, king of Poland, a prince who immortalized himself by the victory of Choesim, and by the deliverance of Vienna, died the 17th of June 1696; this crown was disputed by Augustus, elector of Saxony, who carried his point; and by Armand, prince of Conti, who had only the Ponour of being candidate. Sweden

### PETER THE GREAT. 163

Sweden had lately loft \*, but did not greatly lament, King Charles XI: he was the first fovereign who had ever been really policifed of absolute power in that kingdom; and was father of a prince, in whose reigh this power Itill increaled, though it was abolished at his demise. He left the crown to his fon Charles XII, then only fifteen years of age. This was in all appearance a most favourable conjuncture, for the Czar's grand projects of extending his dominions, towards the gulf of Finland and Livonia. It was not enough for his purpose to Haras the Turks in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea; he could make no fettlements on the Palus Mæotis, or towards the Cafpian, that would answer his schemes of trade. navigation, and power: belides, as glory is the object, which every reformer purface, this was not to be obtained, either in Persia or Turky, but in our part of Burope, where merit and abilities are configned to immortality. To be brief, Peter did not want to introduce either the

April 1697.

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Turkish or Persian customs, but ours, among his subjects:

Germany was then at war, both with the Turks, and with the French: but having been supported by her allies, Spain, England, and Holland, against Lewis XIV, she was upon the point of concluding a peace; and the plenipotentiaries were just met at the village of Ryswick, in the neighbourhood of the Hague.

Affairs being thus fituated, Peter and his ambassadors began their journey in the month of April 1697, by the way of Great Novogorod. From thence they proceeded through Estonia and Livonia, provinces formerly disputed by the Russians, Swedes, and Poles, but at length conquered by the Swedes.

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The fertility of Livonia, and the situation of Riga its capital, were capable of tempting the Czar to possess himself of that country; at least, he had the curiosity to desire to see the fortifications of the citadel: but Count d'Alberg, governor of Riga, taking umbrage at this, refused to gratify the Russian

### PETER THE GREAT.

Russian monarch; and seemed even to set very flight on the embaffy. So rude a behaviour did not allay the defire, which Peter might have conceived, of making himfelf mafter of those provinces.

From Livonia they travelled on to Brandenburg Prussia, part of which had been. inhabited by the ancient Vandals: as for Polish Prussia it had been included in Sarmatia Europæa. Brandenburg Pruffia was a poor country, very ill peopled; yet the elector, its fovereign, who afterwards affumed the title of king, made a most extraordinary and expensive figure on this occasion. He piqued himself upon receiving this embaffy in his city of Konigsberg, with a royal magnificence. The most costly presents were exchanged on both sides. The contrast between the French mode of apparel, which the court of Berlin particularly affected, and the long Afiatic robes of the Russians, with their caps adorned with pearls, and diamonds, and their fimitars hanging by their fides, must have had a very fingular effect. The Czar was dreffed in the

MS. M. Roirs of Le Fort.

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the German fashion. A Georgian prince in his retinue, displayed a different sort of magnificence in the Persian habit: he was taken prisoner afterwards at the battle of Narva, and died in Sweden.

Peter in his heart despised this external pomp; and we could have wished that he had flewn the like contempt for caroufing and feafting, a kindof entertainment, in which the Germans at that time used to place their whole delight \*. It was at one of these sumptuous treats, the bane at once of health and morality, that this prince drew his fword against his favourite Le Fort; but he expressed the fame concern for this short transpo paffion, as Alexander shewed for the murder of Clitus; for he asked that gentleman's pardon. He said that he wanted to reform his fubjects; but that he could not as yet reform himfelf. Le Fort in his manuscript seems more ready to commend the Czar for this general dispofition of mind, than to blame him for being hurried away by this impulse of passion.

\* MS. Memoirs of Le Fort.

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The ambassadors went through Pomerania to Berlin; and from thence one part took their rout by Magdeburg, and the other by Hamburg, a town already considerable by means of its extensive commerce, but not so gay and opulent as at present. They then directed their course towards Minden, passed through Westphalia, and at length arrived by the way of Cleves at Amsterdam.

The Czar had reached this city fifteen days before the ambassadors: he lodged at first in a house belonging to the East-India company, but chose afterwards a small apartment in the yards of the admiralty. He difguifed himfelf in a Dutch skipper's habit, and went to the village of Sardam, where many more veffels were then built, than at present. This village is equal in populousness and opulence, but fuperior in neatness, to a great many flourishing towns. Peter admired the multitude of workmen confrantly employed; the order and exactness observed in their feveral departments; the prodigious difpatch with which they build and fit out bus M 4 fhips; thips; and the incredible quantity of stores and machines for the greater eafe and fecurity of labour. He began with purchasing a boat, and made a mast for it himself : by degrees he executed every part of the construction of a ship; and led the same life all the time as the carpenters of Sardam; clad and fed exactly like them; working hard at the forges, at the rope-yards, and at the feveral mills for the fawing of timber, for the extracting of oil, for the manufacturing of paper, and for wiredrawing; of all which there is a prodigious number around the village. He entered himself as a common carpenter, and was enrolled in the lift of their workmen, by the name of Peter Michaeloff. They commonly called him Master Peter, Peter-bas; and though they were confounded at first to behold a sovereign their companion, yet they gradually accustomed themselves to the fighter missin

Whilst Peter was handling the compass and ax at Sardam, he received a confirmation of the division in Poland, and of the double nomination of the elector Augustus

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#### PETER THE GREAT. 169

and the prince of Conti. Immediately the carpenter of Sardam promised king Augustus to assist him with thirty thousand men. From his shop he issued out orders to his army in the Ukrain, which had been assembled against the Turks.

His troops obtained a victory over the Tartars + in the neighbourhood of Afoph ; and in a few months after became mafters of the town of Or, or Orkapi, which we call Precopi For his part he perfilted in making himself master of different arts: With this view he frequently went from Sardam to Amsterdam, in order to hear the anatomical lectures of the celebrated Ruisch: under this master he made such improvement, as to perform some chirurgical operations, which in case of necessity might be of use, both to himself, and to his officers. He likewife studied natural philosophy, under burgomaster Vitsen, celebrated for his patriotic virtue, and for the noble use he made of his immense fortune. This gentleman difpenfed his treasure with a most liberal hand,

against the division and feel + but because

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like a citizen of the world, fending men of abilities, at a vaft expence, to all parts of the globe in fearth of the most valuable cusiolities, and fitting out thins for the discovery of unknown countries of a side

Peter-bas suspended these occupations; but it was only to pay a private visit at Utrecht and at the Hague, to William king of England, and stadtholder of the United Provinces. General Le Fort was the only person present at the interview of these two monarchs. Peter affished next at the geremony of the public entry of his amhalladors, and at their audience p when the deputies of the States were presented, in his name, with fix hundred of the finest fables: the States in return, befides the usual prefent of a gold chain and a medal to each, gave them three magnificent coaches. They received the finit vifit of all the plenipotentianies affembled at the congress of Ryswiele except the French, to whom they had not notified their arrival, not only because the Car esponded the part of king Augustus against the prince of Conti ; but because king Will.

PETER THE GREAT. 171 king William, whose striendship he culti-

Upon his return to Amsterdam, he resumed his former occupations; and having finished with his own hands a sixty-gum ship, which he had begun himself, he sent it to Archangel; for the Russians had then no harbour in the Baltic.

He not only engaged French refugees, Swifs, and Germans, to enter into his fervice; but took care to fend all forts of artists to Moscow, not without previously feeing a specimen of their abilities. There are few arts and manual employments; with which he was not well acquainted: he took a particular pleasure in rectifying the maps of geographers, who having at that time but a flender knowledge of his dominions, frequently fixed the fituation of towns and the course of rivers merely at a venture. He drew a draught himfelf of the communication between the Caspian and Black Seas, which he had projected forme time before, and commissioned M. Brekel, a German engineer, to carry it into execution; this draught feas, was indeed a less arduous task, than that of the ocean and the Mediterranean, which had been executed in France; yet people were frightened at the very idea of joining the sea of Asoph and the Caspian. There seemed to be a stronger reason for the Czar to make new settlements in that parts of the world, as fresh hopes arose from this successes.

and by prince Dolgorouki, had lately \* obtained a victory in the neighbourhood of Afoph, over the Tartars, and even over a body of Janizaries, whom Sultan Mustapha sent to their assistance. This success rendered the Czar more respectable to those, who had lately condemned him for quitting his dominions, in order to learn the mechanic arts in Amsterdam. They perceived that the weighty, concerns of the sovereign did not suffer by the amusements of the traveller, philosopher, and artist.

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#### PETER THE GREAT. 473

Thus he continued his usual employments of shipbuilder, engineer, geographer, and physician, till the middle of January 1698, when he embarked for England, in his ambassadors retinue.

King William fent his yacht to meet him, with a convoy of two men of war. In England he followed the fame manner of life, as that which he had observed at Amsterdam and Sardam. He took lodgings near the king's yard at Deptford; and almost his whole time was employed in gaining further instruction. The Dutch carpenters had only taught him the practical part of shipbuilding; but in England he learnt the art by fundamental principles; for there they work by plan and rule, and according to mathematical proportion. He foon became mafter of the theory, and was capable of reading lectures upon it himfelf. He undertook to build a ship according to the English method of construction; and it proved a prime failor. His attention was also directed to watchmaking, an art which had already been brought to perfection in London. bito

London, and he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the principles on which it is founded. Captain Perty, the engineer, who attended him from London to Russia, affirms, that there was not so much as a single article belonging to a ship, from the casting of cannon to the making of cables, but what he minutely observed, and set his hand to, as often as he came into the king's yards.

In order to cultivate his friendship, king William permitted him to take a number of English artificers into his service, as he had done in Holland; but beside the artificers, he engaged fome mathematicians, whom he could not to eafily have procured from that republic. He contracted for this purpole with Mr. Fergulon, a Scotchman, and a good geometrician. This was the man who introduced the arithmetical way of accounts into the exchequer in Ruffis, where before that time they made use only of the Tartar method of reckoning with balls Arung upon a wire; a method which supplied the place of writing, but was perplexing and

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PETER THE GREAT. and imperfect; because after the calculation, there was no method of proving it, to obtain a certainty of there being no mistake. The Indian cyphers, which we now use, were not introduced into Europe till the minth century by the Arabs; and the Ruffian empire did not receive them till many ages after : fuch has been the fate of all the asts, to be flow in their progress round the globe. Ferguion was accompanied by two young mathematicians from Christ-church hospital; and this was the beginning of the marine academy, founded forme time after by -Reter the Great. He observed and calcualated eclipses along with Ferguson. Persy the engineer, though greatly diffatisfied with the Czar for not having been fufficiently rewarded, adknowledges that this prince had fludied aftronomy. He understood the mohions of the heavenly bodies, and even the elaws of gravitation, by which they are direfted. This force to evidently demonstrated, and before the great Newton's sime, fo little known; this force, by which all the planets gravitate towards each other, and which

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which retains them in their orbits, was already familiar to a fovereign of Russia, when other nations amused themselves with chimerical vortexes; and when Galileo's ignorant countrymen were commanded by teachers as ignorant as themselves, to believe the earth immoveable.

Perry set out upon his journey, in order to effect the junction of rivers, and to construct bridges and sluices. The Czar's planwas to open a communication, by means of canals, between the ocean, the Caspian, and the Black Sea.

We ought not to omit that the English merchants, headed by the marquis of Carmarthen, gave him fifteen thoufand pounds for leave to import tobacco into Russia. This branch of commerce had been prohibited by the patriarch from an ill-judged severity; for the Russian church looked upon smoaking as an unclean and sinful action. Peter, who knew better things, and who, among his other projects, was meditating the reformation of the church, introduced the

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PETER THE GREAT. 177
use of this commodity into his domi-

Before he departed from England, king William entertained him with a spectacle worthy of fuch a guest, that of a mock seafight. Little was it then imagined, that the Czar should one day fight real battles on this element against the Swedes, and obtain victories on the Baltic. To conclude, William made him a present of the Royal Transport, a most beautiful yacht, which he generally used for his passage over to Holland. Peter went on board this vessel, and got back to Holland in the end of May -1608. He took with him three captains of men of war, five and twenty captains of merchant ships, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, thirty furgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and upwards of three hundred artificers. This colony of ingenious men in the feveral arts and professions, failed from Holland to Archangel on board the Royal Transport; and from thence were fent to the different places, where their fervice was necessary. Those whom he engaged During N

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gaged at Amsterdam, took the route of Narva, at that time subject to Sweden.

While the Czar was thus transporting the arts and manufactures from England and Holland to his own dominions, the officers whom he had fent to Rome and Italy, succeeded so far as also to engage fome artists in his fervice. General Scheremetow, who was at the head of his embaffy to Italy, took the tour of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Malta; while the Czar proceeded to Vienna with the other ambaffadors. All he had to do now, was to obferve the military discipline of the Germans, after feeing the English fleet, and the dockyards in Holland. But it was not the defire of improvement alone that induced him to make this tour to Vienna: he had likewife a political view sofor the emperor of Germany was the hatural ally of the Ruffians against the Turks. Peter had a private audience of Leopold, and the two monarchs stood the whole time of the interview, to avoid the trouble of ceremony. fervice was necedar

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#### PETER THE GREAT. 179

During his stay at Vienna, there happened nothing remarkable, except the celebration of the ancient feast of landlord and landlady, which Leopold thought proper to revive upon the Czar's account, after it had been disused during his whole reign. The manner of making this entertainment, to which the Germans give the name of Wirtschaft, is as follows. The emperor is landlord, and the empress landlady: the king of the Romans, the archdukes, and the archdutcheffes, are generally their affiftants: they entertain people of all nations, dreffed after the most ancient fashion of their respective countries. Those who are invited as guests, draw lots for tickets; on each of which is written the name of the nation, and the character they are to represent. One has a ticket for a Chinese mandarin, another for a Tartarian mirza; another for a Persian satrap, or a Roman fenator: a princess may happen to draw lots for a gardener's wife, or for a milkwoman; what

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and a prince may act the peafant or foldier. They have dances fuited to these different characters; and the landlord and landlady with their family wait at table. Such is the old cuftom \*: but on this occasion, Joseph king of the Romans, and the countels of Traun represented the ancient Egyptians; the archduke Charles and the countess of Walstein were dressed like the Flemings in the reign of Charles the Fifth; the archdutchess Mary Elizabeth and Count Traun were in the habit of Tartars; the archdutchess Josephina and the count of Vorkla appeared in a Perfian drefs; the archdutches Mariamne and prince Maximilian of Hanover acted the character of North Holland peafants. Peter affumed the habit of a Friefland boor, and in this character, was addressed by every body, at the fame time that they talked to him of the great Czar of Mufcovy. These indeed are minutenesses; but function a princefs may happen to draw lots

MSS, of Petersburg and of Le Fort.

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PETER THE GREAT. 181 whatever revives the memory of ancient customs, is, in some measure, worthy of being recorded.

The Czar was ready to fet out from Vienna in order to finish his improvements at Venice, when he received the news of a rebellion which had lately broke out in his dominions.

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#### CHAPTER X.

#### CONSPIRACY PUNISHED.

The Strelitzes abolished. Alterations in the Russian customs, manners, state, and church.

vels had guarded against every accident that might happen, and had even provided the means for suppressing a rebellion: but his very endeavours to serve and aggrandize his country, proved the cause of the present insurrection.

These disturbances were owing partly to some old boyars, pertinaciously fond of their ancient customs, and partly to the clergy, who looked upon the present innovations as sacrilegious. Upon this the old friends of princess Sophia began to shew their heads. A sister of hers, who was confined to the same monastery, is said to

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## CONSPIRACY PUNISHED. 183

have been very active in blowing the coals. It was represented on all sides, that the nation was in the utmost danger of being over-run with foreigners, under the pretence of improving their manners \*. In fhort, who could imagine that the permiffion, which the Czar had given to import tobacco throughout his dominions, notwithstanding the prohibition of the clergy, should be one of the strongest motives to rebellion? And yet so it was. Superstition, which sheds its baleful influence over all the world, and yet is the delight of the vulgar, quickly spread itself from the common people of Russia to the Strelitzes, who had been scattered on the frontiers of Lithuania: they affembled, and marched in a body towards Moscow, with an intent to place Sophia on the throne, and for ever to exclude the Czar, who had violated the laws and customs of his country, by prefuming to travel for instruction among foreign nations. The corps under the command of Shein and Gordon, being better

\* Le Fort's MSS.

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disciplined, defeated the Strelitzes within fifteen leagues of Moscow: but the advantage obtained by a foreign general overthe standing troops of the nation, among whom were feveral of the burghers of Moscow, contributed still more to inflame the people. may bad may on a day -

In order to pacify these troubles, the Czar sets out privately from Vienna, passes through Poland, has an interview with king Augustus, and enters into measures with that prince, for extending his own power towards the Baltic. At length he \* arrives at Moscow, and surprizes every body by his presence. The first thing he did was to reward the troops, who had routed the Strelitzes: the next being to chastise the offenders, the prisons were filled with those unhappy wretches. ... As their crime was great, fo was their punishment. Their chiefs, with feveral officers, and priests, were condemned to death +; some were broke upon the wheel, and two

women

<sup>\*</sup> September 1698.

<sup>+</sup> Memoirs of captain Perry the engineer, who was employed in Russia by Peter the Great. Le Fort's MSS.

women were buried alive. Two thousand Strelitzes were executed; part of whom were hanged at the gates of the walls that encompass the city; and others were dispatched in a different manner +: their bodies were exposed two days on the high roads, especially about the monastery, where the princesses Sophia and Eudocia resided. Monuments of stone were erected on this occasion, with an inscription setting forth the crime, and the punishment. A great number, who had their wives and children at Moscow, were banished with their families; some into Siberia, others to the kingdom of Astracan, and others to the country about Afoph. By this step, their punishment was at least of some service to the state; for they helped to cultivate and improve a large tract of waste land.

If the Czar had not seen a necessity for making so dreadful an example, perhaps he would have employed in public works, some of those Strelitzes, whom he ordered to be put to death, and who thereby were ut-

† Le Fort's MSS.

terly loft, both to him, and to the community; for the life of a subject ought to be confidered as a very tender point, especially in a country, where the article of population calls upon the utmost attention of the legislator: but his defign was utterly to fubdue and confound the spirit of the people, by the terror and multitude of executions. The intire corps of the Strelitzes, whose number none of his predeceffors had dared even fo much as to reduce. was broke for ever, and their very name abolished. This great revolution was effected without the least opposition, because he had taken the feveral steps preparatory to it. Ofman, the Turkish sultan, was deposed, as we have already observed, in the fame century, and strangled, only for having hinted to the Janissaries, that he intended to diminish their number. Peter was more successful, because his measures were better concerted. Out of that whole corps of the Strelitzes, he left only a few feeble regiments, from whom there was no longer any danger to be apprehended: still they they preferved the spirit of mutiny, so as to revolt once more in Astracan in the year 1705; but this insurrection was soon quelled.

Equal to the feverity which Peter exerted on this particular emergency of state, was his humanity upon the lofs he fustained fome time after, of his favourite Le Fort, who was fnatched away by an untimely fate, at the age of forty-fix \*. He did him the honour of a funeral, that vied with the magnificence flewn at the obsequies of mighty fovereigns. He affifted in person at the procession with his pike in his hand, behind the captains, and in the rank of figurement, which he had submitted to in that general's regiment, with a view that the nobility might learn from thence to pay a due respect to merit, and to military fubordination.

After the decease of Le Fort, it appeared plainly, that the alterations in the state, were not owing to that general, but had been originally all contrived by the Czar.

<sup>\*</sup> March the 12th, 1699. N. S.

It is true, he had been confirmed in his refolutions by conversing with Le Fort; but he planned his schemes himself, and executed them intirely without that officer's aid or assistance.

As foon as he had suppressed the Strelitzes, he established regular regiments on the German footing: he gave short habits and uniforms to the soldiers, instead of the cumbersome long coats, which they used to wear before; and at the same time, they were taught a more regular exercise.

The Preobrazinski guards were already formed: they took their name from that original company of fifty men, whom the young Czar had trained in his retreat at Preobrazinski, at the time when his fister Sophia governed the state: the other regiment of guards was also established.

As he had passed through the lowest degrees in the army himself, he ordered that the sons of his boyars and knezes should serve in the capacity of common soldiers, before they commenced officers. Some of the young nobility he sent on board his sleet at Veronise and towards Asoph, where he obliged them to serve their apprentice-ship to the navy. None durst refuse to obey a master, who had deigned to set so extraordinary an example. Both the English and Dutch helped to equip this sleet for sea, to construct sluices, to establish docks for careening his ships, and to resume the grand work of joining the Don and the Volga, which had been dropped by Brakel the German. From that time he set about the several reformations in his council of state, in the revenue, in the church, and even in society itself.

The revenue had been hitherto administered nearly in the same manner as in Turky. Every boyar paid a stipulated sum for his lands, and raised it upon his dependants or bondsmen. But the Czar appointed burghers and burgomasters for his receivers, who were not powerful enough to claim the privilege of paying into the public treasury only just what they pleased. This new administration of the revenue was what cost him the most trouble:

ble; and he was obliged to try feveral methods, before he could bring it to bear.

The reformation of the church, which in all other countries is looked upon as a dangerous attempt, proved an easy task to him. The patriarchs, as well as the Strelitzes, had fometimes combated the imperial authority; Nicon with infolence; Joachim, one of Nicon's fuccessors, with subtlety and cunning. The bishops had arrogated to themselves the power of the sword, viz. that of condemning people to death, and to other corporal punishments; a privilege contrary to the spirit of religion, and to the subordination of government: but this authority, notwithstanding that it had been usurped several ages ago, was taken from them. The patriarch Adrian happening to die at the end of this century, Peter declared he should have no successor.

This dignity was intirely abolished; and the great income of the patriarchal see, was united to the public revenue, which stood in need of this addition. The Czar did not set himself up for

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head of the Russian church, as the kings of Great Britain have done in regard to the church of England; yet he made himself absolute master of the clergy, because the synods no longer presumed to disobey a despotic sovereign, nor to dispute the orders of a prince who knew so much more than themselves.

We need only to cast an eye on the preamble of the edict concerning his ecclefiaftical regulations published in 1721, to be convinced that he behaved as mafter and legislator. We should think ourselves guilty of ingratitude to the most High, if after baving reformed the military and civil order, we neglected the spiritual, &c. For these reasons, following the example of the most ancient kings, who are famed for piety, we have taken care to publish some wholesome regulations for the clergy. It is true, he convened a fynod in order to fee his laws carried into execution; but the members of the fynod were to begin their ministry by taking an oath, the form of which had been written and figned by the Czar himfelf.

felf. This was an oath of fubmission and obedience, couched in the following terms: I fwear fidelity and allegiance as fervant and fubject to my natural and true fovereign, and to his august successors, whom he shall please to nominate, by virtue of the incontestable power for that purpose, of which he is possessed: I acknowledge bim to be the supreme judge of this spiritual college; I swear by the all-seeing God, that I understand and mean this oath, in the full force and sense, which the words convey to those who read, or hear it. This oath is much stronger than that of the supremacy in England. The Ruffian monarch was not indeed one of the fathers of the fynod; but he dictated their laws: he did not touch the censer: but he directed the hands that held it.

While he was waiting for the completion of this great work, he thought that as his dominions were but ill peopled, the celibacy of the monks was contrary to nature, and to the public good. The ancient usage of the church of Russia is, that the fecular priests shall marry at least once; nay, they

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are obliged to do it: and formerly when the priest lost his wife, he ceased to be in the facerdotal order. But a multitude of cloystered young men and women, who make a vow to be useless to the public, and to live at other people's expence, appeared in his eye a dangerous institution. For which reason he ordained, that none should be admitted to a monastic life, till they were fifty years old; that is, till they were of an age when this temptation scarce ever seizes them: and he further prohibited them from receiving any perfon, of what age foever, invested with a public employment.

This regulation has been repealed fince his time, because the government thought proper to shew a greater condefcenfion to the monasteries: yet the patriarchal see has never been restored; but the great revenues of that high dignity are appropriated to the payment of the troops.

These alterations were at first productive of some complaints; a certain priest de-

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clared in writing, that Peter was Antichrift, because he would have no patriarch; and as the Czar encouraged the typographical art, it helped to foread a multitude of libels against him. But on the other hand, there started up a priest, who replied that it was impossible for the Czar to be Antichrift, because the number 666 was not to be found in his name, and he had not the fign of the beaft. These murmurs were foon filenced. Peter, in reality, gave more to the church, than he took from her, for by degrees he rendered the clergy more regular and more learned. He founded three colleges at Moscow, in which the students are instructed in different languages; and where the youth defigned for the church, ought proper to are obliged to study.

One of the most necessary reformations, was the abolition, or at least the mitigation of the three lents; an ancient superstition of the Greek church, no less pernicious to the persons employed in the public service, and especially to the soldiers, than the old one of not fighting on the sabbath day had been

REFORMATION BEGUN. 195 to the Jews. Accordingly the Czar granted, at least to his troops and to his workmen, a dispensation from observing these lents; in which, though the people were not permitted to eat, yet it was customary for them to get drunk. He even dispensed with their abstaining from slesh meat on sish days; and the chaplains, both in the sea and land service, were obliged to set the example, which they did without any reluctance.

The calendar was an object of importance. The regulation of the year was anciently made in all countries by the heads of religion, not only on account of the festivals, but because in former times scarce any but priests understood astronomy. The Russians began their year the first of September; but Peter ordained that from thenceforward the year should commence, as in this part of Europe, on the first of January. This alteration took place in the year 1700, at the opening of the century, which he ordered to be celebrated by a jubilee, and by other grand

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folemnities. The vulgar admired how the Czar could be able to change the course of the fun. Some obstinate people being persuaded that God had created the world in the month of September, continued to observe the old file; but the alteration took place in all the public offices, in the court of chancery, and foon after throughout the empire. Peter did not introduce the Gregorian calendar, because it was rejected by the English mathematicians; yet sooner or later all countries will be obliged to receive it. do notalinger

Ever fince the fifth century, the period in which the Ruffians were first made acquainted with the use of letters, they wrote on rolls, either of bark or parchment, and afterwards of paper; and the Czar was obliged to publish an edict, commanding them to conform thenceforward to our manner of writing.

The reformation became general. Marriages before that time were performed after the custom of Turky and Persia, where they do not fee the bride till the contract mole

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REFORMATION BEGUN. 197 is figned, and they cannot fly from their word. This custom may do well enough among people where polygamy is established, and the women are confined: but it cannot be suitable to countries, where the people are obliged to be satisfied with one wife, and where divorces are seldom allowed.

The Czar strove to accustom his subjects to the manners and usages of the nations, among whom he had travelled, and from whom he had received the several masters, who were then employed in instructing his people.

It was fit the Russians should not be dressed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts and sciences; because the aversion to foreign nations is too natural to mankind, and too much encouraged by a difference of dress. The habit of ceremony, which at that time was somewhat like the Polish, the Tartarian, or the old Hungarian dress, was, as we have already observed, very noble; but the cloaths worn by the

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burghers and the lower fort of people, were like those jackets, plaited round the waist, which are still given to the poor in some of the French hospitals. In general, the robe was the habit worn by all nations, as it required less fashion and For the same reason it was customary for people to let their beards grow. The Czar found no difficulty in introducing our mode of dress, and the custom of shaving among his courtiers: but the people were more stubborn; so that he was obliged to lay a tax on long coats, and beards. Patterns of clothes were hung up at the gates of towns; and those who refused to pay, were obliged to have their garments and beards shortened. All this was done with great gaiety; and this circumstance alone prevented insurrections.

It has ever been the attention of legislators to promote sociability: but for this end, it is not sufficient to live together in towns; there must be a polite intercourse, which sweetens all the bitterness of life. The Czar introduced those assemblies, which 1

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# REFORMATION BEGUN. 199 the Italians call ridotti, a word that the French news-writers have improperly rendered by the term redoute. To these assemblies he invited ladies with their daughters, dressed according to the mode of the southern nations of Europe; nay, he published regulations for these little entertainments. Thus even the civilizing of his subjects was his own work, with the help of time.

To render these innovations more agreeable, he abolished the word golut, slave, which the Russians made use of whenever they had occasion to speak to the Czar, and in prefenting petitions: he ordered them to substitute in its stead the word raab, which fignifies fubject. This alteration did not diminish their obedience; and yet was likely to conciliate their affection. Every month was productive of some change, or new institution. He carried his attention fo far, as to order posts to be erected on the high-road from Moscow to Veronife, as miliary columns from werst to werst, that is, at the distance of seven hundred paces; and he took care to have a kind

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### 200 REFORMATION BEGUN.

a kind of caravanseras, or public inns constructed at every twentieth werst.

While he thus directed his attention to the general advantage of his people, as well as of the merchants, and travellers, he determined to render his court fomewhat more brilliant; for though he was an enemy to magnificence in his own person, he thought it necessary in those about him. For this end he founded \* the order of St. Andrew, in imitation of the feveral institutions of that kind, with which all the courts of Europe abound. Golowin, fucceffor to Le Fort in the dignity of high admiral, was the first knight of this order. The honour of being admitted a member, was looked upon as a confiderable reward. It is a badge they carry about them, that commands the veneration of the populace; it is a mark of honour that costs the sovereign nothing; and it flatters the vanity of his subjects, without adding to their power.

Such a number of useful innovations were received with great applause by the September the 10th, 1698, we always follow the new sile.

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REFORMATION BEGUN. 201 most sensible part of the nation; and the grumblings of those who adhered to the

ancient customs, were filenced by the acclamations of all men of found judgment.

While Peter was beginning thus a new creation in the interior part of his dominions, he concluded an advantageous truce with the Turk, which enabled him to extend his territories on the other fide. Muftapha the Second, who had been defeated by prince Eugene at the battle of Zenta, in 1607, having also been stripped of the Morea by the Venetians, and finding himself unable to defend Afoph, was obliged to make peace with his victorious enemies: this peace was concluded at Carlowitz\*, between Peterwaradin and Salankamen, places grown famous by his defeats. Temeswar was made the boundary of the German possessions, and of the Ottoman dominions. Kaminiek was furrendered up to the Poles; the Morea and fome towns in Dalmatia, which had been taken by the Venetians, remained in their hands for some time; and Peter the First

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<sup>• 1699, 26</sup> January.

#### 202 REFORMATION BEGUN.

eentinued in possession of Asoph, and of a few forts constructed in its neighbour-hood. The Czar could not pretend to extend his dominions on the side of the Turks, as their whole force would be now united against him, whereas, before it had been divided. His maritime schemes were too vast for the Palus Mæotis. The settlements on the Caspian Sea would not admit of a sleet of men of war; he therefore turned his views towards the Baltic, without relinquishing the navigation of the Tanais and the Wolga.



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## CHAPTER XI.

# WAR with SWEDEN.

ENERGY CAMPAGE TERROYS

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### BATTLE of NARVA.

UT now an \* interesting scene was den. One of the principal causes of all the revolutions which happened from Ingria as far as Dresden, and which laid so many countries waste during the space of eighteen years, was the abuse of the supreme power, under Charles the Eleventh, king of Sweden, father of Charles the Twelsth. The fact cannot be too often repeated, for it nearly concerns all princes and nations. The greatest part of Livonia,

## 204 WAR WITH SWEDEN.

with all Estonia, had been ceded by Poland to Charles the Eleventh, king of Sweden, who fucceeded Charles the Tenth during the treaty of Oliva: it was ceded in the customary manner, referving to the inhabitants the continuance of all their privileges. But these being little regarded by Charles the Eleventh, John Renold Patkul, a Livonian gentleman, repaired to Stockholm, in 1692, at the head of fix deputies of the province, in order to lay the strongest, and, at the same time, the most respectful remonstrances of the people before the throne +: instead of an answer, the fix deputies were committed to prison, and Patkul was condemned to lose both his bonour and life. But he loft neither; for he made his escape out of prifon, and remained for some time in the country of Vaud in Switzerland. As foon

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in his history, that he had the insolence to complain of oppression, and that he was condemned to lose both his honour and life.

This is talking like the priest of despotism. He should have reslected, that it is impossible to bereave a citizen of his honour, for doing his duty,

# WAR WITH SWEDEN. 205

as he heard that Augustus, elector of Saxony, had promised, upon his accession to the throne of Poland, to recover the provinces wrested from that kingdom, he hastened away to Dresden, in order to represent the facility of recovering Livonia, and of dispossessing a young king, only in his eighteenth year, of the conquests of his ancestors.

At the same time, the Czar Peter was meditating a scheme to make himself master of Ingria and Carelia. These provinces formerly belonged to the Russians; but the Swedes had conquered them at the time of the salse Demetriuses; and preserved them since by treaties. Another war and new treaties might restore them to Russia. Patkul went from Dresden to Moscow, and having excited the two monarchs to avenge his cause, he cemented a close union between them, and forwarded their preparations for invading the several territories situated to the east and south of Finland.

At this very time, Frederic IV, the new king of Denmark, entered into a league

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## 206 WAR WITH SWEDEN.

league with the Czar and Augustus, against the young king of Sweden, who seemed likely to be overpowered. Patkul had the pleasure of besieging the Swedes in Riga, the capital of Livonia; on which occasion he acted as major-general.

The Czar marched an army of about fixty thousand men towards Ingria. True it is, that in this great army there were hardly more than twelve thousand disciplined troops, whom he had trained to war himself; these were his two regiments of guards, and a few others: the remainder confisted of an ill-armed militia, with some Coffacks and Circaffian Tartars: but he had a hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon. He laid fiege to Narva, a fmall town in Ingria, with a commodious harbour; and there was the greatest probability, that the place would be taken in a very short time. between them, and forwarded their

All Europe \* knows how Charles XII, who at that time was not quite eighteen years of age, withstood his numerous

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September Tycolo and West

BATTLE OF NARVA. enemies, and attacked them all fuccellively; how he made a descent upon Denmark, and finished the war with that crown in less than fix weeks; how he fent

faccours to Riga, and raised the siege of that town; and how he marched over ice and fnow in the month of November, against

the Ruffians who had laid fiege to Narva.

The Czar, confident of taking the town. was gone to Novogorod \*, attended by his favourite Menzikoff, at that time lieutenant in the company of artillery belonging to the regiment of Preobrazinski, and afterwards raifed to the dignity of prince and field-marshal; a man whose extraordinary fortune deserves a more particular description in another place, mail oron on gaind

Peter left the command of his army, with instructions for the fiege, to the prince of Croy, whole family was originally from Flanders, and who had lately entered into + the Czar's fervice. Prince Dolgorouki was commilfary of the army. The jealoufy between memoirs with which'l have been furniflied,

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<sup>18</sup> November.

<sup>†</sup> See the History of Charles XII.

these two chiefs, and the absence of the Czar. were in part the cause of the unparalleled defeat at Narva. Charles XII having landed his troops at Pernau in Livonia, in the month of October, marches northwards towards Revel, and defeats in that neighbourhood an advanced body of Russians. From thence he continues his march, and beats another. The fugitives fly back to their main army, and spread consternation in the camp. Yet they were now in the month of November; and the town of Narva, though unskilfully befieged, was upon the point of furrendering. The young king of Sweden had not with him quite nine thousand men; and could bring no more than ten pieces of cannon against the Russian entrenchments, which were lined with a hundred and forty five. According to all the relations of that time, and to all historians without exception, the Russian army amounted to eighty thousand fighting men. The memoirs with which I have been furnished, fay fixty, and others forty thousand; be inefe that

that as it may, certain it is, that Charles had only nine thousand, and that this is one of the several instances which evince, that the greatest victories have been frequently obtained by inserior armies, ever since the battle of Arbela.

Charles was not in the least afraid to attack so great a force with his small corps; but availing himself of a violent storm of snow and wind, which blew full in the front of the enemy, he attacked their entrenchments with the aid of a few pieces of cannon advantageously posted. The Russians had not time to recover themselves, in the midst of that cloud of snow, which, as I observed before, was driven by the wind directly in their faces, so that they could not see the cannon that played most suriously against them; besides, they had no notion that the enemy's force was so inconsiderable.

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The duke de Croy would give his orders; and prince Dolgorouki would not obey them. The Russians rise against the German officers; they massacre the duke's se-

Buil s to se November the 30th, 1700:

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eretary, with colonel Lyon, and feveral others. Each man quits his post; and a general confusion and panie are diffused throughout the army. The Swedish troops had then nothing more to do, than to kill and deftroy a flying multitude. Some of the fugitives threw themselves into the river of Narva, where great numbers of them were drowned; others flung away their arms, and begged for quarter upon their knees. The duke de Croy, general Allard, and the German officers, more afraid of the mutinous Ruffians, than of the Swedes, furrendered to count Steinbok. The king of Sweden became master of all their artillery. Thirty thousand of the vanquished enemy laid down their arms at his feet, and filed off with their heads uncovered before him. The knez Dolgorouki, and all the other Ruffian generals, came and furrendered as well as the Germans; but did not know, till some time after they had been made prisoners, that they were vanquished by eight thousand men. Among the captives was the fon of a king 05

of Georgia, whom Charles fent to Stock-holm: his name was Mittelefky Czarowitz, or Czar's son; which is a further proof, that the title of Czar or Tzar was not originally derived from the Roman Czefars.

On the fide of Charles XII, there were only twelve hundred flain in this engagement. The Czar's journal, which was fent me from Peterfburg, Tays, that reckoning the foldiers who perifhed at the fiege and battle of Narva, and who were drowned in their flight, the Russians lost no more than fix thousand men. The loss of that fatal day was intirely owing to want of difcipline, and to a pame that feized the army. The captives were four times more numefour than the victors; and if we may believe Norberg +, count Piper, who was afterwards taken by the Rullians, reproached them, that the number of prifoners at this battle, was eighteen times greater than that of the whole Swedist army. If this be true, the Swedes must have made feventy two thousand prisoners. This

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<sup>+</sup> Page 439, tome I. the Hague edition, in 4to.

shews how difficult it is to come at the truth in regard to particulars. One thing beyond all doubt, and yet very extraordinary, is, that the king of Sweden should suffer one half of the Russian soldiers to go off disarmed, and the other half to repass the river with their arms, without retaining a single soldier prisoner. So unaccountable a presumption restored a body of troops to the Czar, that were afterwards well disciplined, and became formidable to their enemy.

Charles XII reaped all the advantages that could be drawn from a fignal victory: his troops seized immense magazines, and a great number of transports, laden with provisions; the enemy's posts were either evacuated or taken; in short, the whole country was in the possession of the Swedes. Narva was now delivered; the shattered remains of the Russian army

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Norberg the chaplain pretends, that after the battle of Narva, the grand fignior immediately wrote a letter of congratulation to the king of Sweden in these terms: the sultan Basha by the grace of God to king Charles XII, &c. The letter is dated from the zera of the creation of the world.

durst not shew themselves; and the Russian frontier being open as far as Pleskow, the Czar seemed to have no resources left to enable him to maintain the war. On the other hand, the king of Sweden having wanquished the monarchs of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, in less than a year, made a figure as the first prince in Europe, at an age when other sovereigns hardly presume to think of military glory. But Peter's characteristic was invincible constancy of mind; so that he was never dis-

A Russian bishop composed a form of prayer + to St. Nicholas, on this occasion; which was publickly read in churches.
This composition shews the spirit of the times, and the gross ignorance from which the Czar delivered his country: it says positively, that the surious and terrible swedes were sorcerers; and it complains,

couraged in any of his projects.

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<sup>†</sup> It is printed in most of the journals and pieces of that time, and is to be found in the History of Charles XII, king of Sweden, p. 42.

### SI4 BATTLE OF NARVA

that the Ruffians had been abandoned by St. Nicholas. The prelates of that country would not write such stuff at prefent; and without any offence to St. Nicholas, the Ruffians foon perceived, that their business was to address themselves to Peter, well all all all all the

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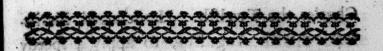
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TOTAL STORY

## CHAPTER XII.

Resources after the battle of Narva; this miffortune is intirely repaired; Peter obtains
a victory in the neighbourhood of Narva.
He executes his great designs in Russia.
The person, who was afterwards empress,
made prisoner at the sacking of a town.
Peter's successes; his triumph at Moscow\*.

THE YEARS 1701, AND 1702.

HE Czar having quitted his army before Narva towards the end of November 1700, in order to concert matters with the king of Poland, was apprized upon the road, of the victory obtained by the Swedes. He was not at all dispirited, but shewed a sirmhess equal to the intrepidity and valour of

This and the following chapters, are intirely extracted from the journal of Peter the Great, which was fent me from Petersburg.

P 4

Charles

## 216 RESOURCES AFTER

Charles the Twelfth. He deferred his interview with Augustus, to apply a speedy remedy to the disordered state of his affairs. The troops that had been in different quarters, rendezvoused at Novogorod, and marched from thence to Pleskow upon the lake of Peipus.

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After so signal a defeat, it was as much as the Czar could do to stand his ground: I know very well, said he, that the Swedes will have the advantage of us a considerable time, but they will teach us at length to beat them.

Having provided for the present emergency, and ordered recruits to be raised on every side, he repairs with all expedition to Moscow, to forward the casting of cannon. All his artillery had been taken before Narva; and as he wanted metal, he had recourse to the bells of the churches, and of the religious houses. This shewed him to be free from superstition, yet was no sign of profanencis or irreligion. Out of those bells were formed a hundred large cannon, with one hundred and forty-three field-pieces,

## THE BATTLE OF NARVA. 217

pieces, from three to fix pounders, besides mortars, and haubitzes; and the whole was forwarded to Pleskow. In other countries, the sovereign commands, and his subjects execute his orders; but here the Czar was obliged to see every thing done himself. While he is making these preparations, he enters into a negotiation with the king of Denmark, who engages to assist him with three regiments of foot, and three of cavalry; an engagement which that monarch durst not observe.

No fooner is this treaty figned, than he returns with the greatest dispatch to the seat of war; and has an interview \* with king Augustus, at Birzen on the frontiers of Courland and Lithuania. His business was to confirm that prince in his resolution of maintaining the war against Charles XII, and to prevail on the Polish diet to engage in this quarrel. It is well known, that the king of Poland is no more than the head of the republic. The Czar had the advantage of being always obeyed; but

## 218 RESOURCES AFTER T

the kings of Poland, and England, and at present the king of Sweden, are obliged to treat with their subjects. Patkul, and a few Poles in the interest of their king, were prefent at those conferences. Peter promised to affift them with fubfidies, and with an army of twenty thousand men. Livonia was to be restored to Poland, upon a supposition that the diet would act in conjunction with their king to recover that province: but fear had a stronger influence, on the determinations of the diet, than the Czar's proposals. The Poles were under an apprehension of having their liberties restrained by the Saxons and Ruffians; and at the same time they had a greater dread of Charles XII. Hence the majority determined not to ferve their king, that is, not to fight. The oo of saw

The court party were exasperated against the contrary faction; in short, the king's proposal of recovering a considerable province, that had been wrested from Poland, was productive of a civil was throughout the kingdom.

Fichinger the arch. Lon.

## THE BATTLE OF NARVA. 219

The Czar \* had therefore but a weak ally in Augustus, and the Saxon troops afforded him but very little affistance. Such terror did Charles XII inspire on every side, that Peter was obliged to depend intirely upon his own forces.

After such an expeditious journey to from Moscow to Courland, in order to confer with Augustus, he hastens back from Courland to Moscow, to forward the performance of his promise. Accordingly he orders prince Repuin to march with a body of four thousand men towards Riga, upon the banks of the Duna, where the Saxon troops were entrenched.

The rapid fuccess of the Swedes ‡, increased the general terror of their arms. Charles having passed the Duna, in spight of the Saxons, who were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, obtained a complete victory: he followed the blow by making himself master of all Courland; and was advancing with his victorious army into

<sup>·</sup> February.

<sup>+</sup> First of March, 1701.

<sup>#</sup> July 1701.

### 220 RESOURCES AFTER

Lithuania, to animate the Polish faction, who had declared against Augustus.

Peter still pursued his great designs. General Patkul, who had been the life and soul of the conferences at Birzen, and had lately entered into his service, shewed his zeal in providing him with German officers, and in disciplining his troops; in short, he was a second general Le Fort, and sinished what the other began. The Czar found relays for all the officers, and even for the common soldiers, whether Germans, Livonians, or Poles, that came to serve in his armies; and took particular care of every thing relative to their arms, clothes, and sub-sistence.

On the confines of Livonia and Estonia, and west of the province of Novogorod, lies the great lake of Peipus: from the south side of Livonia, it receives the river Velika; to the northward, it sends forth the river Naiova, which washes the walls of the town of Narva, in whose neighbourhood the Swedes obtained their samous victory. This lake is upwards of thirty leagues in length;

### THE BATTLE QE NARVA. 221

length i in some places twelve, and in others fifteen in breadth. Here it was of the utmost importance for the Czar to maintain a fleet, in order to prevent the Swedish vessels from insulting the province of Novogorod; to be within a proper distance for making a descent upon their coasts; and especially to train up a number of feamen. During the year 1701, Peter caused a hundred and fifty half-gallies, each carrying about fifty men, to be built on this lake, and other vessels were fitted out for war upon the Ladoga fea. He directed the building of these vessels himself, and fet all his new failors immediately to work. Those who had served in 1607 upon the Palus Maotis, were now employed in the neighbourhood of the Baltic. Yet he frequently made excursions to Moscow, and to the other provinces, in order to establish the regulations already begun, or to introduce new improvements ablated to and mun

Princes who have employed their peaceful days in public foundations, are mentioned in history with honour; but that Peter, Peter, just after the unfortunate battle of Narva, should undertake the junction of the Baltic, Caspian, and Euxine seas, is what crowns him with more real glory, than he could ever have derived from the most fignal victory. It was in 1702, that he began to dig that deep canal, which was intended to unite the Don and the Wolga. Other communications were to be carried on by the help of lakes, from the Don to the Duna, which empties itself into the Baltic, in the neighbourhood of Riga: but this latter project feemed to be still at a great distance, for Peter was far from having Riga in his possession. won aid lie all bus

Charles continued to ravage Poland, while Peter was introducing from thence and from Saxony, shepherds with their flocks of sheep, in order to have wool fit for the manufacturing of good cloth: he erected limen and paper manufactories: by his orders great numbers of blackingths, braziers, armouners, and founders, with other artificers, were invited from abroad : and workmen were employed to dig into the mines of Siberia. Peter.

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Thus at the same time he endeavoured to enrich, and to defend his dominions.

Charles, eager to profecute his victories, left a sufficient number of forces, as he imagined, upon the frontiers of the Czar's dominions, to defend the provinces subject to Sweden. He was now determined to dethrone king Augustus, and then to pursue the Czar with his victorious arms as far as Moscow.

This year there happened some little skind mishes between the Russians and Swedes, in which the latter were not always victorious; and even when they had the advantage, the Russians were learning the art of war. Within a twelvementh after the battle of Narva, the Caar's troops were so greatly improved in the military discipline, that they obtained a victory over one of the best generals belonging to Charles the Twelsth.

Feter was at Pleskow, from whence he fent out numerous detachments on all sides to attack the Swedes. The Russians proved victorious

victorious under the command of a general of their own nation. Scheremetow, by a judicious manœuvre, furprized several outparties of Schlippenback, the Swedish genefal, in the neighbourhood of Derpt, on the frontiers of Livonia; and at length obtained a victory over the general himfelf. The Russians took four colours, for the first time, from the Swedes; which was then thought a confiderable number.

Not long after, the Swedish and Russian fleets had several engagements on the lakes of Peipus and Ladoga; where the former had the far advantage as by land, that of discipline and long practice. Yet the Rusfians were fometimes fuccessful on board their half-gallies; and in a general action upon the lake of Peipus, field-marshal Scheremetow made himself master of a Swedish frigate \* it is honistio ved tall

By means of this lake, the Czar kept all Livonia and Estonia in constant alarm; his gallies frequently transported over several regiments to make a descent in those probeton analytical May 1702 48 oil desta of

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vinces; if the attempt did not prove fawourable, they were reimbarked; if they had any advantage, they improved it. \*The Swedes were twice defeated in the neighbourhood of Derpt, while their arms were prosperous every where else.

In all these engagements, the Russians were superior in number to the Swedes; therefore, as Charles XII was victorious in every other quarter, he did not give himself any uneasiness about the Czar's success: but he should have considered, that the numerous forces of his rival were improving every day in discipline, and might soon be a match for the Swedish veterans.

While the two nations + were thus engaged by sea and land towards Livonia, Ingria, and Estonia, the Czar receives intelligence, that a Swedish sleet was sailed to the north seas, with a view to destroy Archangel: upon which he sets out for that city; and the public is surprized to hear, that he is upon the banks of the frozen ocean, when every body believed.

<sup>•</sup> June and July. de + July 1702.

him to be be at Moscow. He puts the town into a state of defence, prevents the Swedes from landing, draws the plan of a citadel called the New Dwina, lays the first stone, returns to Moscow, and from thence to the seat of war.

Charles was advancing into Poland, while the Russians were making conquests in Ingria and Livonia. Marshal Scheremetow marches against the Swedish forces commanded by Schlippenbach, and obtains a victory over that general near the little river Embac; taking sixteen colours, and twenty pieces of cannon from the enemy. Norberg says, this engagement happened on the first of December 1701; but the journal of Peter the Great sixes it to the 19th of July 1702.

The Russian general \* continues his march, and laying the whole country under contribution, makes himself master of the little town of Marienburg, situated on the confines of Livonia and Ingria. There are several places of this name in the

August the 6th, 1702.

north of Europe; but this, though it no longer exists, is more celebrated in history than all the rest, for the adventure of the empress Catharine.

This little town having furrendered at discretion, the Swedes, either through inadvertency or delign, fet fire to the magazines. The Russians, provoked at this behaviour, destroyed the town, and carried off all the inhabitants. Among the prifoners was a young woman, a native of Livonia, who had been educated by M. Gluck, the minister of the place: this is the very person who afterwards became the sovereign of those who had taken her captive, and who governed Russia by the name of the empres Catharine.

There had been instances before this, of private persons raised to the throne: nothing was more common in Russia, and in all the Afiatic kingdoms, than marriages between fovereigns and their fubjects: but that a poor stranger, who had been discovered amidst the ruins of a plundered town, should become the absolute sovereign of that

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#### 228 SIEGE OF NOTTEBURG.

very empire into which she was led captive; is an incident, which fortune and merit have never before produced in the annals of the world.

The Czar's arms were equally fuccessful in Ingria; for the Russian half-gallies on the lake Ladoga, obliged the Swedish fleet to retire to \* Wyburg, situated at the other extremity of this great lake: from thence they might observe the siege of Notteburg, which general Scheremetow had undertaken by order of the Czar. This was an enterprize of much greater importance than people imagined; as it might open a communication with the Baltic, the constant aim of Peter the Great.

Notteburg was a very strong town, situated in an island on the lake Ladoga, which it intirely commands; so that whoever possesses this place, must of course be master of the river Neva, which disembogues itself not far from thence into the m

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<sup>\*</sup> This feems to be a mistake: probably our author should have said to Kexholm; because Wyburg is not on the lake of Ladoga, but on the gulf of Finland,

SPECE ON NOTTEBURG. 229 Baltics The Rullians battered the town, night and day, from the 18th of September to the 12th of October; and at length having made three breaches, gave the affault. The Swedish garrison were reduced to a hundred men, in a condition to bear arms; yet what is very extraordinary, they made a stand, and obtained an honourable capitulation upon the breach Colonel Schlippenbach, the governor, would not furrender the town but upon condition of being permitted to fend for two Swedish officers from the nearest post, in order to examine the breach; and to inform the king his mafter that fleighty three foldiers, all that remained of the garrifon, besides a hundred and fifty-fix sick and wounded, did not furrender to an intire army, till it was impossible for them to make a longer refultance, or to preferve the town. This instance alone shews, what fort of an enemy the Czar had to contend with ; and how necessary it was for him to use his utmost efforts in disciplining his troops.

\* October the 16th, 1702.

## 230 TRIUMPH AT MOSCOW.

He distributed some gold medals among his officers, and gave rewards to all the common soldiers; except to a few, who were punished for running away from an assault: their comrades spit in their faces, and afterwards shot them to death, mixing ignominy with their punishment.

The fortifications of Notteburg were repaired, and its name was changed into that of Shluffelburg, Shluffel in the German fignifying a key, for this place is the key of Ingria and Finland. The first governor was Menzikoff, now grown a very good officer, and who merited this honour by behaving most gallantly during the fiege. This example was an encouragement to merit, undistinguished by birth.

After this campaign of 1702, he was willing that Scheremetow, and the officers who had fignalized themselves under his command, should make a triumphant entry into Moscow +. All the prisoners taken in this campaign marched in the train of the victors: before them were carried

† December the 17th, 1702.

TRIUMPH AT Moscow. 231 the Swedish colours and standards, with the flag taken on board the frigate in the lake of Peipus. Peter assisted in the preparations for this triumphal pomp, as he had shared in the victories, which were celebrated with such magnificence.

So splendid a procession was designed to inspire his troops with a noble emulation; otherwise it would have been an idle show. Charles disdained all such farce; and ever since the battle of Narva he held the Russians, with their triumphs, and all their efforts, in the utmost contempt,



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## C.H.A.P.T.E.R. XIII.

Reformation at Moscow. Further successes.

Foundation of Petersburg. Peter takes

Narva, &c.

# otherwise it would have been an idle show.

made at Moscow in the beginning of the winter of 1703, was employed in seeing his new regulations executed, and in improving the civil, as well as military government. Even his very diversions were calculated to promote the new manner of life, which he was now introducing among his subjects. With this view, he caused all the boyars and ladies to be invited to the marriage of one of his jesters; and gave his commands that every body should be dressed up just in the same man-

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REFORMATION AT MOSCOW. 233 ner as had been practifed in the fixteenth century \*. There had been formerly a fuperstitious custom of not lighting a fire on their wedding-day, even in the severest frost; this custom was strictly observed at the present entertainment. The Russians used to drink no wine, but only mead, and brandy; and now he would fuffer no other liquor; in vain did the guefts complain of this treatment; he answered them in a jocular manner, " your ancestors did so; and surely an-" cient customs are always the best." This kind of raillery contributed greatly to the reformation of fuch as were apt to prefer the past to the present times; at least it discouraged their complaints. There are some other nations that stand in need of the like correction. doled, and fixed re

But a more useful establishment was that of a printing-house, with the Russian and Latin types, which had been all brought from Holland. They began with printing some Russian translations of books of morality and polite literature; while Ferguson

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Taken from the journal of Peter the Great.

## 234 REFORMATION AT MOSCOW.

opened schools for teaching geometry, aftronomy, and navigation.

Another foundation no less useful than necessary, was that of a large hospital; not one of those houses which encourage idleness, and perpetuate the misery of the people; but such as the Czar himself had seen at Amsterdam, where both old men and children are employed at work, and every body is of some use to the public.

He likewise established several manufactures; and after he had set his people to work at the different trades and professions which he had lately introduced into Moscow; he made an excursion to Veronise. Here he gave orders for building two eightygun ships, with long empty chests, exactly closed, and fixed under the ribs, for the easier sloating of the vessel over the bars and shoals, of which there are many in the neighbourhood of Asoph; a contrivance very like that of the Dutch in getting over the Pampus.

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Having prepared every thing for his expedition against the Turks, he returns with

with the utmost speed to the frontiers of Sweden, and visits the ships which he had directed to be built in the dock-yards of Olonitz, between the lakes Ladoga and Onega. In this town he had erected some forges and founderies for the making of arms: so that the place was filled with the bustle of military preparations, while Moscow began to flourish in the arts of peace. Olonitz is become more famous since that time, by the discovery of a mineral spring. From thence he set out for Shlusselburg, in order to improve the fortifications.

We have already taken notice, that he had thought proper to pais through all the military degrees: he had been a lieutenant of bombardiers under prince Menzikoff, before this favourite was made governor of Shluffelburg; and now he took the rank of captain, and lerved under mar-

shal Scheremetow.

Near the lake Ladoga, and not far from the river Neva, there was a very important fortress named Nianz or Nya. It was of the utmost importance for the Czar to make himself

## 236 NEW ENTERPRIZES.

himself master of this place, in order to fecure his conquests, and to profecute his other defigns. He was obliged to lay fiege to it by land, and at the same time, to prevent its receiving any fuccours by water. Peter undertook to transport troops in small barks, and to watch the Swedish convoys; while Scheremetow had the care of The citadel furrendered: and the trenches. two Swedish vessels \* came too late to relieve it; for they were both taken by the Czar. His journal makes mention, that as a reward for his service, the captain of bombardiers was created knight of the order of St. Andrew, by admiral Gollowin, first knight of the order.

After he had taken the fort of Nya, he came to a resolution of building the city of Petersburg, at the mouth of the Neva, upon

the gulf of Finland.

Helmid

King Augustus's affairs were in an unprosperous way: the successive victories of the Swedes in Poland had encouraged his enemies in their opposition; and even his

5 May the 12th, 1703.

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friends prevailed on him to dismis a body of twenty thousand Russians, with which his army had been reinforced. The motive they alledged was, that this sacrifice would deprive the malecontents of any pretext for joining the king of Sweden; but enemies are disarmed by force, and encouraged by indulgence. Those twenty thousand men, disciplined by Patkul, did very great service in Livonia and Ingria, while Augustus was losing his dominions. This reinforcement, and especially the possession of Nya, enabled the Czar to found his new capital.

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It was in this defert and marshy spot of ground, which communicates but one way with the continent, that \* he laid the foundation of Petersburg, in the sixtieth degree of latitude, and the forty-fourth and a half of longitude. The ruins of some of the bastions at Niantz, served for the first stones of this foundation. He began with erecting a small fort in one of the islands, which now stands in the midst of the

Petersburg was founded the 27th of May, 1703, on Whitsunday.

city. The Swedes took no umbrage at this fettlement, formed in a morals, and inacceffible to vessels of burden; but how great their surprize, when they faw the fortifications advanced, a town raised, and the little island of Cronslot, situate over against it. changed, in 1704, into an impregnable fortrefs, under the cannon of which even the largest fleets may safely ride at anchor!

An enterprize of this nature feemed to require peaceful times, yet was executed in the hurry and confusion of war; workmen of every fort were called together from Mofcow, from Astracan, from Casan, and the Ukrain, to affift in the building of this city. Neither the difficulty of the ground, which he was obliged to drain and to raife, nor the distance of materials, nor the unforeseen obstacles which constantly arose in every branch of labour, nor laftly, the mortality which carried off a prodigious number of workmen, could shake the fixed resolution of the founder of this metropolis. In the space of five months a new town rose out of the It is true, it was no more than a chuster

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a cluster of huts, with two brick-houses, surrounded by ramparts; but this was sufficient for a beginning; time and perseverance accomplished the rest. Petersburg had not been sounded above sive months, when a Dutch vessel \* came to trade there: the captain received some presents for his encouragement; and the Dutch soon learnt the way to this harbour.

While Peter was directing the foundation of this colony, he took care to render it inaccessible to the enemy, by making himself master of all the neighbouring posts. A Swedish colonel, named Croniort, having stationed his men in the river Sestra, from whence he threatened the growing town; Peter + marched up to him with the two regiments of guards, defeated the colonel's detachment, and obliged him to repass the river. When he had thus provided for the security of the town, he repaired to Olonitz, to order a number of small vessels to be put upon the stocks ‡; and returned to

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November 1703.

<sup>+</sup> July the 9th, 1703.

<sup>1</sup> September.

Petersburg on board a frigate, which had been built by his direction, together with fix transports for present use, till the others could be finished.

Even at this very juncture, he lends a helping hand to the king of Poland \*, by fending him a reinforcement of twelve thousand foot, together with a subsidy of three hundred thousand rubles, which a mount to upwards of fifteen hundred thoufand livres. We have already taken notice, that his annual revenue did not exceed five millions of rubles; a fum which the expence of his fleet, of his armies, and of his new establishments, was sufficient to exhaust. He had fortified Novogorod, Pleskow, Kiow, Smolensko, Asoph, and Archangel, much about the same time. He had been likewise employed in founding a capital. Yet he was still able to assist his ally with men and money. We read in Cornelius le Bruyn, a Dutch traveller, who was at that time in Russia, and with whom the Czar Peter would converse very freely, as was his custom with

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all foreigners, that the Czar himself assured him of his having three hundred thousand rubles in his coffers, after all the charges of the war were defrayed.

In order to fecure his new colony of Petersburg against any insult; he sounds the coast himself, and fixes the spot on which the fort of Cronflot is to be erected : after making a model of it in wood, he employs prince Menzikoff to carry it into execution. \* From thence he fets out for Moscow, intending to pass the winter in that city, and gradually to establish the several regulations and changes, which he had made in the laws, manners, and customs of Russia. He likewise puts his finances into a new order; after which he expedites the works undertaken on the river Veronife, at Afoph, and in a harbour which he was building upon the Palus Maotis, under the fort of Taganrok.

tions, fent an ambassador to him with her complaints; to which he made answer,

orly

<sup>\*</sup> November 5, 1703. . . . January 1904.

that he was as much a fovereign in his own dominions, as the grand fignior was in Turky; and that it could be no violation of the peace, to render Russia respectable on the Euxine Sea, aid sauson of rebro ni

ab \* Upon his return to Petersburg, finding the new citadel of Cronflot, whose foundations had been laid in the feat intirely finished; the provides it with numerous artillery. In order to establish himself in Ingria, and to wipe off the difgrace rereived before Narva, he efteemed it necelfary to make himself master of that city. While he was making the preparations for the fiege, a small fleet of Swedish brigantines appeared on the lake of Peipus, to oppose his designs. The Russian halfgallies come out to meet them, a brifk engagement enfues, and the whole Swedish squadron, carrying ninety-eight pieces of cannon, is taken +. After this victory, -the Czar besieges Narva by sea and land; and what is very extraordinary, he lays fiege at the fame time to Derpt in Estonia.

March the 30th.

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Who could imagine that there had been an university at Derpt! Though founded by Gustavus Adolphus, it never acquired any same, as a seat of learning. Derpt is known only by these two sieges. Peter incessantly goes from one to the other, to soward the attacks, and to direct the different approaches. Schlippenbach, the Swedish general, was at that time in the neighbourhood of Derpt with about two thousand sive hundred men.

The garrison expected every moment, he would attempt to throw succours into the town. But Peter prevented this design by a stratagem, worthy of more frequent imitation. He orders Swedish uniforms, colours, and standards, for two regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry. The pretended Swedes attack the trenches, and the Russians seign a retreat; the garrison are thereby deluded to make a fally \*, the mock combatants join their forces, and fall upon the Swedes, one half of whom are killed, and the other half get back to the town.

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### 244 SIEGE OF NARVA.

Schlippenbach comes up soon after with an intent to relieve it, but is intirely deseated. At length Derpt is obliged to capitulate \*, just as Peter was going to order a general assault.

At the same time the Czar received a confiderable check on the fide of his new city of Petersburg; which did not however hinder him from going on with the buildings, nor from pressing the siege of Narva. We have already taken notice, that he had fent a fupply of men and money to king Augustus, whom Charles was stripping of his crown; but both those aids proved ineffectual. The Ruffians having joined the Lithuanians, who adhered to Augustus, were intirely routed in Courland by Lewenbaupt, the Swedish general +. Had the victors directed their efforts towards Livonia, Estonia, and Ingria, they might have demolished the Czar's new works, and baffled all his grand defigns. Peter was every day undermining the outwall of Sweden, and Charles did not feem to regard

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<sup>\*</sup> July the 23d, 1704, 1704 ad + July the 31ft.

him; being engaged in a pursuit, less advantageous to his people, but more glorious to his arms.

On the 12th of July, 1704, only a fingle colonel, at the head of a Swedish detachment, had obliged the Polish nobility to proceed to the nomination of a new king. on the field of election, called Kolo, in the neighbourhood of Warfaw. The cardinal primate, and feveral bishops, submitted to the will and pleasure of a Lutheran prince, notwithstanding the menaces and excommunications of the supreme pontiff: in short, they were obliged to yield to a fuperior force. No body can be ignorant of the manner in which Staniflaus Lerzinfky was elected; and how Charles XII caufed him to be acknowledged as fovereign, by a confiderable part of the Polish refeues feveral women out of the handitan

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All Peter would not abandon the abdicated king, but grew more liberal of his fuccours, as that prince became more unfortunate: and while his rival bu-

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fied himself in making sovereigns, he employed his time in beating the Swedish generals in Estonia, and Ingria; and in sorwarding the siege of Narva, where things were now ready for an assault. There were three samous bastions, at least their names were such, being called vistory, banour, and glery. The Czar carries them sword in hand, The besiegers force their way into the town, where they sall immediately to plunder, and commit the most horrid barbarities; a practice but too common at that time, both with the Swedes and Russians.

Peter set an example on this occasion \*, capable of conciliating the affections of his new subjects. Seeing his men intent on slaughter and pillage, he runs from place to place to stay their sury; and rescues several women out of the hands of those barbarians. After he had killed two of the brutes, who resused to obey his orders, he entered the town-house, whi-

and lavin siel August the zoth, 1704. It out to had

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ther great numbers of the citizens were retired for thelter; and there laying his fword, reeking with blood, upon the table:

" My fword, fays he, is not stained with

" the blood of the inhabitants, but with

" that of my own foldiers, which I have

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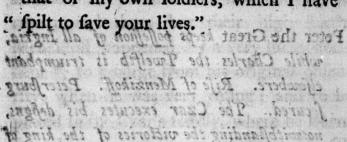
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of that province on Menzikoff giving him at the fame time (he title of oprince, and the rank of major-peneral. The pride and prejudice of other countries might

M. E. Al, the proceding and following chapters are berrowed from Peter the Great's jok not, and from the papers received from Pel-thing, wingselfel with otherlinemake greatest by saided how not to be a perfect out of the

> CHAP. R 4

The received to a rest, bether he care the



fword, recking with blood, upon the table; "Afy fword, fays he, is not flained with

## " that of any own foldiers which I have

Peter the Great keeps possession of all Ingria, while Charles the Twelfth is triumphant elsewhere. Rise of Menzikoff. Petersburg secured. The Czar executes his designs, notwithstanding the victories of the king of Sweden.

## THE VEARS 1704, AND 1704.

Ingria, conferred the government of that province on Menzikoff, giving him at the same time the title of prince, and the rank of major-general. The pride and prejudice of other countries might

N. B. All the preceding and following chapters are borrowed from Peter the Great's journals, and from the papers received from Petersburg, compared with other memoirs.

find

PRTERSBURG DRFENDED. 249
find fault with a fovereign for raising a
pastry-cook's boy to the post of general and
governor, and to princely dignity; but
Peter had accustomed his subjects not to
be surprized at seeing him prefer men of
abilities, to persons who had nothing to
recommend them but their high birth.
Menzikoff happened, by a very lucky accident, to emerge from his original obscurity, when he was very young; and to be
placed in the Czar's family, where he learnt
feveral languages, and qualified himself
bioth for the cabinet and for the field:

Menzikoff's parents were vaffals of the monattery of Cosmopoli; at the age of 13 he went to Moscow, and was taken into the service of a pastry-cook. His employment was finging ballads, and crying puffs and cakes about the fireets. One day, as he was following this occupatien, the Czar happening to hear him, and to be diverted with one of his fongs, fent for him, and asked him if he would fell his pies and his basket? The boy answered, that his bufiness was to sell his pies, but he must ask his master's leave to fell his basket : yet as every thing belonged to his prince, he needed only to lay his commands upon him. This answer was so agreeable to the Czar, that he immediately ordered him to come to court, where he gave him at furt a mean employment; but being every day more pleafed with his wit, he thought fit to place him about his person, and to make him groom of his bed-chamber, from whence he gradually raised him to the highest preferments.

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having

250 PETERSEUR C DERENDEE.

having had the art of ingratiating himself with his master by his wit and humour, he strengthened his interest by more important services. He hased all possible diligence in forwarding the works at Petersburg; where thy this time the Czara had greated as great number of housest of stone and bricks with an arfeiral and magazines, and had likewise finished the fortifications. The palaces were more raised till some time aftern many, with

than he made an offer of further succours to the king of Poland, who had been lately dethroned: he engaged to supply him with a fresh body of troops, besides the reinforcement of twelve thousand men, which he had already sent to that prince. \* Accordingly he gave orders for general Repnin to march from the frontiers of Lithuania with fix thousand horse and fix thousand foot. All this while he did not lose sight of his colony of Petersburg: the buildings went on; the navy was improving; and ships, and frigates were upon the stocks at

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Dionitz; these he took care to see finished. and brought them himself into the harbour little iffand of Kotin. But \* grudhatsq to

It was generally his custom, upon his return to Moscow, to make a triumphant entry. In this manner did he revisit his capital the present year +, from whence he made only one excursion, to affift at the launching of his first ship of eighty guns, upon the Veronife; the dimensions of which he himself had drawn the preceding year all

- As foon as the feafon approached for opening the campaign in Poland tohe made hafte to join the army which he had affembled on the frontiers of Lithuania in order to affift Augustus: But while he was thus end deavouring to support his ally, the Swedes had fitted out a fleet, which threatened the destruction of his new settlements of Peterfourg and Cronflot. This fquadron confifted of two and twenty thips of war, carrying from fifty-four to fixty-four guns each, besides six frigates, two bomb-ketches,

boved.

October 11, 1704. + December 30.

<sup>1</sup> May 1705-

## 252 Perensusucousits.

and two fire ships. The land forces of board the transports, made a descent in the little island of Kotin. But a Russian colonel, mamed Tolboguin, having caused his regiment to lie stat on their bellies, while the Swedes were landing, ordered them to rise up of a sudden; and they made so brisk and so regular a fire, as \* obliged the enemy to retreat in the utmost confusion to their ships, abandoning their dead, with the loss of three hundred prisoners.

In the mean time, the Swedish fleet hovered shill upon the coast, and threatened
Petersburg. Phe land forces made another
descent, and met with the like repulse. A
body of troops were advancing at the same
time by land from Wyburg, under the
command of Meidel, the Swedish general;
and had taken their route by Shkuselburg.
This was the most formidable attack that
Charles XII + had yet made, against the
territories, either conquered, or created by
Peter the Great. But the Swedes were repulsed on every side, and Petersburg was
saved.

\* June 17, 1705.

† June 25.

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The Czar, on the other hand, was marching towards Courland, and wanted to penetrate as far as Riga. His plan was to make himself master of Livonia, while Charles completed the reduction of Poland under the obedience of the new king. Peter continued still at Vilna in Lithuania, and marshal Scheremetow was approaching towards Mittaw, the capital of Courland: but there he met with Lewenbaupt, a general celébrated for many victories. The two armies engaged at a place called Gemauers-hof, or Gemauers.

In matters depending on experience and discipline, the Swedes, though inferior in number, had always the advantage: the Russians were intirely defeated, and lost all their artillery\*. Peter, after three defeats, at Gemauers, Jacobstad, and Narva, still retrieved his losses, and even converted them to his advantage.

After the battle of Gemauers, he marches a large army into Courland, fits down before Mittaw, makes himself master of the

10 M July 28, 1703.

254 EXTRAORDINARY DISCIPLINE.

he takes by capitulation \* 18 70) and brane

The Muscovites at that time were famed for diftinguishing their fuccess by rapine and plunder, a practice of too great antiquity in all nations : but Peter had fo changed this custom at the taking of Narva, that the Ruffian foldiers now appointed to guard the vaults in the castle of Mittaw, the usual burying place of the great dukes of Courland, finding that the bodies of those princes had been dragged out of their tombs, and stripped of their ornaments, refused to undertake the charge, till they had fent for a Swedish colonel to examine the place; who gave them a certificate, acknowledging that the troops of his own nation had committed this outdefeats, 'at Gematters, Itcobilad, .sgar

During these transactions, a report was spread throughout the Russian empire, that Peter had been totally deseated at the battle of Gemauers; a report which did him

fore Mittaw, makes himfelf inactor of the

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<sup>•</sup> September 14, 1705.

## REBELLIONASTIFLED. 2

The remainder of the ancient Strelitzes, in garrison at Astracan, emboldened by this fallel intelligence to revolt, murdered the governor of the town. Peter was obliged to fend marshal Scheremetow with a body of forces, to quell the insurrection, and to punish the ringleaders.

The Czar feemed to be in a most ticklish lituation, from a combination of circums stances that greatly made against him; fuch as Charles's good fortune and valour; the forced neutrality of Denmark; the reo bellion of the ancient Strelleges? the mitri murings of a people fensible of the restraint, but not of the utility of the late reformation; the disaffection of the nobility for being fubjected to military discipline; and laftly, the exhausted state of the revenue ! yet he was no way dispirited. He soon quelled the revolt; then providing for the fecurity of Ingria, and making himfelf master of the citadel of Mittaw, in spite of the victorious Lewenhaupt, who had not a fufficient force to oppose him, he found CHAP himself

## 256 ALLIBBEARSISTED.

himself at liberty to march an army through Samogitia and Lithuania. To tolumnia

Peter had now the fame glory as Charles XII, of riding triumphant in Poland. Having advanced as far as Tikoczin, he had a fecond interview with king Augustus, whom he endeavoured to confole under his miffortunes, promifing to avenge his cause. At the same time he made him a present of a few standards, which Menzikoff had taken from the troops of his rival. From thence they fet out for Grodno, the capital of Lithuania, where they relided till the 15th of December. At their parting, Peter left him both money and men; and according to custom, after having made a very difficult and laborious campaign, went to fpend a part of the winter at Moscow, with the view of encouraging the arts and fciences, and of giving vigour to his new laws ....

December 30, 1705.

trafter of the citadel of Militaw, in laite of

fufficient force to oppose him, he found

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#### CHAPTER XV.

reservers. Peter found all the avenues to

While Peter is strengthening his conquests, and polishing his subjects, his enemy Charles XII is victorious in Poland and Saxony. Augustus, notwithstanding the Russians had gained a victory, receives the law from the king of Sweden. He resigns the crown, and delivers up Patkul the Czar's ambasador. Murder of Patkul, who is condemned to be broke upon the wheel.

# traffer that 1,000 THE YEAR 1706, that he burg expected, with fome region, that he

Moscow, than he received advice,

that Charles the Twelfth had carried all before him, and was advancing towards Grodno, in order to attack the Russian forces. King Augustus had been obliged to fly from Grodno, and to retire precipitately towards Saxony, with four regiments

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### 258 VICTORIES GAINED

of Russian dragoons; a step which both weakened, and discouraged the army of his protector. Peter found all the avenues to Grodno occupied by the Swedes, and his troops dispersed.

While he was affembling his fcattered forces with great difficulty in Lithuania, the celebrated general Shullemburg, in whom Augustus had placed his last hopes, and who afterwards acquired fuch glory in the defence of Corfú against the Turks, was in full march towards Great Poland. with about twelve thousand Saxons, and fix thousand Russians, drawn from the body of troops, with which the Czar had entrusted that unfortunate prince. Shullemburg expected, with some reason, that he should be able to fave Augustus from ruin: he perceived that Charles XII was employed on the fide of Lithuania; and that there was only a body of ten thousand Swedes under Renschild, to interrupt his march. He therefore advanced with confidence towards the frontiers of Silefia, the usual passage from Saxony to Upper Poland. Upon his his arrival in the neighbourhood of a little town, called Fraustadt, on the frontiers of that kingdom, he met marshal Renschild, who was come to give him battle.

In spite of my endeavours to avoid a repetition of any thing mentioned in the history of Charles XII, I must take notice once more, that there was a French regiment in the Saxon army, who had been taken prisoners at the famous battle of Hochster, and obliged to serve under king Augustus. My memoirs inform me, that those Frenchmen had the care of the artillery; and that being not only admirers of the heroism of Charles the Twelfth, but diffatisfied with their Saxon masters \*, they laid down their arms, as foon as they beheld the enemy; and defired to be admitted into the fervice of the king of Sweden, with whom they continued to the end of the war. was only a prelude to a complete victory: out of the whole Russian army, hardly three battalions were faved; every foldier that escaped was wounded; and as no quarter

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<sup>•</sup> February 6, 1706.

was granted, the remainder were all flain. Norberg the chaplain pretends, that the Swedish word at this battle was, in the name of God; and that of the Muscovites, kill all: but it was the Swedes that flaughtered all in the name of God. The Czar himself affures us in one of his manifestos \*, that many of his foldiers who had been taken prisoners, as well Russians, as Cosfacks and Calmucks, were murdered in cold blood, three days after the battle. The irregular troops of both armies had accustomed the generals to these cruelties: greater were never committed in the most barbarous ages. I had the honour of hearing the following anecdote from king Stanislaus himself. That in one of the skirmishes, which frequently happened in Poland, a Russian officer, who had been his friend, came after the defeat of the corps under his command, to put himfelf under his protection; and that Steinbok, the Swedish general, shot him dead with a pistol, while he held him in his arms.

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<sup>\*</sup> The Czar's manifesto in the Ukrain, 1709.

The Russians had now lost four pitched battles with the Swedes, without reckoning the other victories of Charles the Twelsth in Poland. The Czar's forces at Grodno were in danger of a greater disgrace, and of being entirely encompassed by the enemy; but he fortunately assembled the several parts of his army, and even strengthened them with new reinforcements. Being obliged to provide at the same time for these forces and for the preservation of his conquests in Ingria, he ordered his troops to march eastward, under the command of prince Menzikoss, and from thence southward as far as Kiow.

While his men were upon their march, he repairs to Shluffelburg, from thence to Narva, and to his colony of Petersburg, and puts those places in the best posture of defence. \* From the Baltic he slies to the banks of the Borysthenes, in order to march back into Poland by the way of Kiow; his constant aim being to prevent Charles from

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<sup>\*</sup> August 1706.

reaping any benefit by his victories. At this very time he had been meditating a new conquest, namely, that of Wyburg, the capital of Carelia, on the gulf of Finland \*. Accordingly he laid fiege to it, but met with a disappointment; for succours arrived at a feafonable juncture, fo that he was obliged to defift from his enterprize. His rival, Charles the Twelfth, did not acquire a fingle province by gaining fo many victories. At that time he was in pursuit of Augustus in Saxony; intent upon humbling this prince, and crushing him with his whole weight; but not at all follicitous about recovering Ingria, which had been wrested from him by a vanquished enemy.

The terror of Charles's arms was fpread through Upper Poland, Silefia, and Saxony. King Augustus's whole family, his mother, his wife, his fon, and the principal nobility of the country, were retired into the heart of the empire. Augustus now sued for

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KING AUGUSTUS &c. 263 peace, chusing to furrender himself to the discretion of his conqueror, rather than into the arms of his protector. He was negotiating a treaty, which stripped him of the crown of Poland, and covered him at the same time with ignominy. This treaty he was obliged to conceal from the Russian generals, under whose protection he was at that time in Poland; while Charles was prescribing laws in Leipfick, and trampling upon his electorate. Already had his plenipotentiaries figned the fatal convention\*, by which he not only refigned the crown of Poland, but promifed never more to assume the title of king: at the same time, he acknowledged the regal dignity of Stanislaus, renounced the alliance of the Czar, his benefactor; and to complete his humiliation, engaged to deliver up into the hands of Charles XII, John Renold Patkul, the Czar's ambassador, and general in the Russian service, who had been fighting in his defence. Some time before this, he had ordered Patkul to be

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\* September 14, 1706.

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arrested upon false suspicions, contrary to the law of nations; and now he violated this law again, by surrendering him to his enemy. Much better would it have been for him to have died sword in hand, than to sign such a treaty; a treaty which not only robbed him of his honour, and of his crown, but likewise endangered his liber-ty; because he was then at the mercy of prince Menzikoff in Posnania, and the sew Saxon troops he had with him, were paid by the Russians.

Opposite to prince Menzikoss's quarters, lay encamped a Swedish army, reinforced by the Poles in Stanislaus's interest, and commanded by general Maderseld. The prince not knowing that Augustus was in treaty with the enemies of Russia, proposed to attack them: and Augustus durst not refuse. The battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Kalish, in the Palatinate belonging to Stanislaus\*. This was the first time that the Russians gained a pitched battle against the Swedes; and

hafterno

<sup>\*</sup> November 19, 1706.

# RESIGNS THE CROWN. 265

the whole honour was owing to prince Menzikoff: four thousand of the enemy were killed, and two thousand five hundred and ninety eight taken prisoners.

It is difficult to comprehend how Augustus could be prevailed upon after this battle, to ratify a treaty, which deprived him of the whole benefit of fo fignal a victory. But Charles was triumphant in Saxony, where his very name intimidated his enemies: besides, Augustus had little expectation of being steadily supported by the Russians: in short, the Polish party in his enemy's interest were so strong, and Augustus himself was so ill advised, that he figned this fatal convention. Neither did he stop here: he wrote to Finkstein, his envoy, a letter more shameful than the treaty itself, in which he begged pardon for having obtained a victory, protesting that the battle was fought against his will; that the Russians; and the Poles, his adherents, had obliged him to it; that with this defign, be had made some movements to abandon Menzikoff;

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zikoff; that Maderfeld might have beaten bim, had be made a proper use of the opportunity; that he would deliver back all the Swedish prisoners, or break with the Russians; in short, that he would give the king of Sweden all proper satisfaction, for having dared to beat his troops.

This whole affair is most extraordinary, and unaccountable, and yet exactly true. When we reslect, that with all this weakness, Augustus was one of the bravest princes in Europe, we plainly perceive, that the loss or preservation, the rise or decline, of empires, are intirely owing to firmness of mind.

There were two other circumstances, which compleated the misfortunes of the king of Poland elector of Saxony, and plainly shewed the ill use which Charles made of his success. The first was his obliging Augustus to write a letter of congratulation to the new king Stanislaus; the second was terrible; he even compelled Augustus to deliver up Patkul, the

Czar's

# MURDER OF PATRUL. 267

Czar's ambassador, into his hands. All Europe knows, that this minister was afterwards broke alive upon the wheel at Casimir, in the month of September 1707. Norberg the chaplain acknowledges, that the orders for his execution were written in Charles's own hand.

There is not a civilian in Europe, nay there is not a flave, but must shudder with horror at this barbarous act of injustice. The first crime of this unfortunate man. was his having made an humble reprefentation of the rights and privileges of his country, at the head of fix Livonian gentlemen, who had been deputed by the whole state: he was condemned for fulfilling the first of duties, that of serving his country according to her laws. So unjust a sentence fully restored him to a right, which all mankind derive from nature, that of chufing his country. As he was the ambassador of one of the greatest monarchs in the whole world, his person ought to have been facred. The law of nature and nations were violated upon this occasion

#### 268 MURDER OF PATKUL.

by the law of the longest sword. The splendor of high atchievements used formerly to cover such cruelties; but now they are an indelible stain to military glory.

There is not a savilian in Thrope, may

I Charles's own hand.



thing the first of dames, that of teving an country according to her laws. So unes the country telepred had to a right, which all mankind deriverrom metals, that clauding his country. As the was the action also one of the greatest monarches are the whole world, his perfor ought to act the world, his perfor ought to see them lacked. The law of manue and

refriere were violated upon this occation

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#### CHAPTER XVI.

Poland upon the point of having three kings at a time. Charles the Twelfth sets out from Saxony with a flourishing army, and marches triumphantly through Poland. Cruelties committed. The Czar's conduct. Progress of the king of Sweden, who at length advances towards Rusia.

# THE YEARS 1707, AND 1708.

\*\*\*\*\*HARLES was now triumphing at Altranstadt, in the neighbourhood of Leipsick. The protestant princes of the empire flocked from all sides to yield homage to him, and to sue for his protection. Ambassadors from most of the powers in Europe courted his alliance. The emperor Joseph paid an implicit submission to his will. Peter then perceiving, that Augustus had renounced his protection, and the Polish throne, and that a part of the nation

270 CHARLES XII TRIUMPHANT.
nation had acknowledged Stanislaus, began
to listen to the proposal made to him by
Yolkova, of chusing a third king.

Several Palatines were proposed at the diet of Lublin: among the rest, prince Ragotiki appeared upon the lift, the fame who had been long detained in prison in his youthful days by the emperor Leopold, and who was his competitor for the Hungarian throne, after he had recovered his liberty. This negotiation was pushed very far, and Poland was upon the point of having three kings at a time. Prince Ragotski not being able to fucceed, Peter was inclined to confer the crown on Siniauski, grand general of the republic, a man of power and interest, and head of a third party, that would neither acknowledge the dethroned king, nor the person elected by the contrary faction.

In the midst of these disturbances, there was, according to custom, some talk of peace. Besseval, the French envoy to the court of Saxony, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the Czar and the king

OHARLES QUITS SAXONY. 271 of Sweden. The French government had a notion, that if Charles made a peace with the Muscovites and Poles, he might possibly turn his arms against the emperor Joseph, with whom he was offended, and to whom he had prescribed very severe terms, during the time he resided in Saxony. But Charles made answer, that he would treat with the Czar in the city of Moscow, Upon this occasion it was that Peter said; "My brother Charles wants to act the part of Alexander, but he shall not find me a Darius."

The Russians were still in Poland, and even at Warsaw, while the person who had been raised to the Polish throne by Charles XII, was hardly acknowledged by that nation. In the mean time Charles was enriching his troops with the spoils of Saxony.

At length he began his march \* from his head quarters at Altranstadt, with an army of five and forty thousand men: against so great a force, it was very unlikely that

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\* August 22, 1707.

272 CHARLES MARCHES &c.

the Czar should be able to make a stand, since he had been intirely defeated by only eight thousand Swedes at Narva.

While the Swedish troops were passing near the walls of Dresden, Charles paid an extraordinary \* visit to king Augustus; a visit which, according to Norberg, posterity will always admire; at least they will read the account of it with some surprize: for it was certainly running a great risk to trust himself in the hands of a prince, whom he had stripped of his kingdom. From thence he continued his march through Silesia, and at length re-entered Poland.

by war, ruined by factions, and exposed to all forts of calamities. Charles was advancing through Massovia, and chose the worst road he could take. The inhabitants sled into the morasses, being determined at least to make him purchase his passage. Six thousand peasants deputed one of their body to speak to him: this was an old man, of a very extraordinary size and sigure,

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# CRUELTIES IN POLANDI 273

clad in white, and armed with two carbines. He addressed his discourse to Charles: but as the Swedes did not rightly underfland what he faid, they made no fcruple to kill him in the presence of their king, and in the middle of his harangue. The peafants in a rage immediately withdrew, and took to their arms. The Swedes feized on as many as they could find, and obliged them to hang one another; the last was forced to tie the cord about his neck himfelf, and to be his own executioner. All their habitations were reduced to ashes. This fact is mentioned by Norberg the chaplain, who was an eye-witness; so that we can neither reject his testimony, nor help being struck with horror at such cruelty one ody not hantoffe used animal engl

Charles being arrived within a few leagues of Grodno in Lithuania, receives intelligence, that the Czar had fixed his head quarters in that city \*; upon which he hurries away with only eight hundred of his guards, and marches directly to Grodno.

and (2016) February 6, 1708.

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#### 274 NEW VICTORIES AND

A German officer, named Mulfels, who had the command of a body of troops at one of the gates of the town, makes no doubt, upon feeing the king of Sweden, but that he is followed by his army; therefore instead of disputing the passage, he leaves it open: the alarm is spread all over Grodno; every body imagines that the enemy's whole force had entered the town; the few Russians who attempt to make a stand, are cut in pieces by the Swedish guards; and all the officers affure the Czar, that a victorious army had made themselves masters of the place. Peter retreats behind the ramparts; and Charles plants a guard of thirty men at the very gate, by which the Czar had retired.

Amidst this confusion, the Jesuits college having been allotted for the accommodation of the king of Sweden, as the handsomest structure in Grodno, some of those fathers repair to the Czar by night, and acquaint him with the whole truth. Peter immediately returns to Grodno, and sorces the Swedish guard; an engagement ensues in the streets, and in the public squares; but PROGRESS OF CHARLES. 275 at length the king's army arrives. The Czar is then obliged to give way, and to leave the city of Grodno in the power of the victor, who spreads a general panic throughout the whole kingdom of Poland.

Charles having augmented his forces in Livonia and Finland, Peter had great reason to be afraid, not only for his conquests on this fide; but for his ancient territories, and even for Moscow itself, on the side of Lithuania. It was therefore necessary for him, by all means, to provide for the fecurity of those provinces, which lay at fo great a distance from each other. Charles could make no very rapid progress by matching castward through Lithuania, in the depth of winter, and in a Iwampy country, afflicted with a mortality, which had been spread by poverty and famine from Warlaw as far as Minski. Peter quartered his troops at the fords of the rivers; strengthened the principal posts, where the enemy were to pass, and did every thing in his power to stop their progress: after which he returned in all hafte to Petersburg, in order to put things in a good posture a deep

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#### 276 CHARLES ADVANCES

posture of defence on that side of his do-

Though Charles was triumphant in Poland, yet he made no acquisition of territory: but Peter by employing his new fleet, by landing his troops in Finland, by taking and dismantling the town of Borgau +, and seizing on a very considerable booty, was procuring real advantages to himself, and greatly distressing his enemy.

The king of Sweden having been detained by continual rains in Lithuania, at length reached the little river Berezine, within a few leagues of the Borysthenes. Nothing could withstand the rapidity of the victor; he threw a bridge over the river in fight of the enemy, defeated the detachment that guarded this passage, and arrived at Holozin upon the Wabis. Here the Czar had posted a considerable body of men, to stop the impetuosity of the Swedes. The little river Wabis ‡ is no more than a brook in very dry weather; but then it was

politure

April 8, 1708. † May 21.

‡ In the Russian language Bibitsch.

a deep rapid stream, swelled with incessant rains. Farther on was a morals, behind which the Russians had thrown up an intrenchment for above a quarter of a league, defended by a large ditch, and by a parapet lined with artillery. Nine regiments of horse, and eleven of foot, were advantageously posted in these lines; and the passage of the river was thought to be impracticable.

The Swedes, according to the custom of war, got their pontons ready, and erected batteries to favour their passage: but Charles did not wait for the pontons; his military ardor would never suffer the least delay. Marshal Schwerin, who had long served under that prince, has assured me several times; that one day the king observing his generals very busy about the order of battle, as they were just upon the point of engaging the enemy, reprimanded them in the following words; When will you have done with these trisses? and saying this, he advanced at the head of his guards: such was his behaviour also on this memorable day.

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#### 278 CHARLES ADVANCES

He throws himself into the river, sollowed by his regiment of guards. So numerous a body of men broke the force of the current; but the soldiers were up to their shoulders in water, and could not make use of their firelocks. Had the artillery of the parapet been well served, and the infantry but levelled their pieces in a proper manner, not a single Swede would have escaped.

The king, after wading \* through the fiver, passed the morass on foot. As soon as the Swedish army had surmounted these difficulties, within sight of the Russians, they drew up in order of battle, and attacked the entrenchments seven times; the enemy did not give way till the seventh attack. They lost but twelve field-pieces, and sour and twenty mortars, even by the testimony of the Swedish historians.

It was therefore evident, that the Czar had at last succeeded in disciplining his troops; and while Charles reaped so much glory from the victory of Holozin, he might

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eafily have feen, what dangers he must encounter, in adventuring upon an expedition to countries so remote, where there was no possibility of marching but in small bodies, through woods and morasses; and where he should be obliged to sight his way every step: but the Swedes being habituated to conquest, had no apprehension of danger, or fatigue.

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#### CHAPTER XVII.

to countries to remote, where there was

bodies, through woods, and morafic

Charles the Twelfth crosses the Boryshenes, penetrates into the Ukrain, but concerts his measures very improperly. One of his armies is defeated by Peter the Great: his supply of provisions and ammunition is cut off. He marches forward through a desert country. His adventures in the Ukrain.

#### THE YEAR 1708.

hart Es at length reached the banks of the Borysthenes, in the neighbourhood of a small town, called Mohilo \*. This was the important place where he was to hear, whether he should march eastward towards Moscow, or southward towards the Ukrain. His troops, his friends, his enemies, expected he would direct his course towards the ca-

In the Russian language Mogilew.

pital

pital of Ruffia. Which way foever he determined, Peter was following him from Smolensko with a powerful army. Little was it expected, that he should chuse the road towards the Ukrain. So strange a refolution was occasioned by Mazeppa, hetman of the Coffacks, an old man of feventy. years of age, who having no children, should naturally have chosen to end his days in quiet. Besides, he ought from a sense of gratitude to have been attached to the Czar. to whom he owed his present greatness: but whether he had really some reason to complain of that prince; or whether he was dazzled with the luftre of Charles's exploits; or whether, in fine, he was aiming at independence, he betrayed his benefactor, and entered into a private confederacy with the king of Sweden, flattering himself that he should prevail on the whole nation of Cossacks to revolt.

Charles was confident of subduing the Russian empire, as soon as his victorious bands could be joined by so warlike a nation. From Mazeppa he was to receive

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ceive provisions and ammunition, and whatever artillery he should have occasion for: befides these powerful fuccours, he was to be joined by an army of feventeen or eighteen thousand men, who were upon their march from Livonia, under the command of general Lewenhaupt, with a prodigious quantity of provisions and military flores. He did not inquire whether the Czar was ready to fall upon that army, and to deprive him of fo confiderable a reinforcement: neither did he inform himfelf, whether Mazeppa was in a condition to fulfil his engagements, or was a person of such weight and interest, as to be able to change the principles of a whole nation, who feldom take any counfel but their own; or whether, in short, he should find resources for his army, in case he met with any disaster: as to these matters, he seemed quite easy; and if Mazeppa should happen to deceive him, or be unable to perform his promife, he depended on the bravery of his troops, and on his own good fortune. The Swedish army ceive theretherefore advanced beyond the Borysthenes, towards the Desna, and between these two rivers he expected Mazeppa. The roads were excessive bad, and the slying parties of the Russians rendered his march extremely dangerous.

Menzikoff +, at the head of fome regiments of horse and dragoons, having attacked the king's vanguard, threw them into confusion, and killed a number of men: but though it was with the lofs of a greater number of his own, he was not discouraged. Charles rode up to the field of battle, and repulsed the Russians; yet not without great difficulty, and being long exposed to the danger of losing his life, by fighting with a party of the enemy's dragoons, by whom he was furrounded. All this while there was no news of Mazeppa; and provisions began to grow scarce. The Swedish soldiers seeing their king a partaker of all their perils and diffresses, were not dispirited; but though they admired his courage, they could not help condemning his conduct.

+ September 11, 1708,

The order which the king had fent to Lewenhaupt, for marching with the utmost diligence, and joining him with the convoy, was delivered twelve days too late; a great space of time at so critical a conjuncture. At length Lewenhaupt began his march. Peter suffered him to pass the Borysthenes; but as soon as the Swedes had got between this river and the leffer streams in that neighbourhood, he croffed the Borysthenes after him, and attacked the Swedish general with his united force; the different corps of the Russians having followed at equal distances from one another. The battle was fought between the Borysthenes and the Soffa \*.

Prince Menzikoff was upon his return with that same body of cavalry, which had distinguished itself in the engagement with Charles the Twelsth: he was followed by general Baur; and the Czar himself commanded the slower of his army. The Swedes imagined they had been engaged with forty thousand Russians; and this

<sup>\*</sup> In the Ruffian language Soeza.

was the general opinion for a long time, founded on the accounts received from them. But my late memoirs inform me, that Peter had no more than twenty thousand men, on that memorable occasion; a number not greatly superior to that of the enemy. But his vigour, his patience, his perseverance, together with the firmness of his troops, animated by his presence, determined the fate, not of that only, but of three different days, during which the action was fucwere never innincly ceffively renewed.

At first, the Russians attacked the rear of the Swedish army near the village of Lefnau, from which this battle borrows its name. The first shock was bloody, without being decifive \*; Lewenhaupt retired to a wood, and preserved his baggage: the day following, the Czar being determined to drive the Swedes out of the wood, the action was renewed with more bloodshed. and with greater fuccess; the Czar perceiving his troops in diforder, cried out to the rear guard to fire upon the fugitives, nu bornardo bad October 1708. 200 dadt

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# 286 VICTORY OF LESNAU.

and upon himself likewise; if he should be so cowardly as to turn his back. The Swedes were repulsed, but not thrown into confusion.

Ment of four thousand dragoons, he fell upon the enemy a third time; when they retired towards a small town called Prospock, where they were attacked once more; from thence they marched towards the Desna, and were closely pursued. Yet they were never intirely broke; but lost upwards of eight thousand men, seventeen pieces of cannon, and forty-four colours. The Czar took fifty six officers prisoners, with very near nine hundred common soldiers; and the great convoy of provisions, which had been designed for Charles's army, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

This was the first time that the Czar in person gained a pitched battle against an enemy, who had distinguished themselves by so many victories over his troops: he returned thanks to God for this success, upon hearing that general Apraxin had obtained an advan-

MAZEFFA JOINS CHARDES 289
advantage in Ingria, within a few leagues
of Narva; an advantage indeed less confid
derable than the victory of Leshaw; but this
concurrence of fortunate circumstances enlivened his hopes, and insuled fresh vigour
into his army.

Charles received this difagreeable intelligence, just as he was going to pass the Dasna in the Ukrain. At length however Mazeppa arrived : he had engaged to bring with him twenty thousand men, and a predigious supply of provisions; but appeared with no more than two regiments, and rather as a fugitive who applied for fuccours, than as a prince that came to affift an ally. He had indeed begun his march with very near fixteen thousand men, to whom he at first declared, that he intended to lead them against the king of Sweden; that they would have the glory of stopping that heroe upon his march; and that the Czar would be under an eternal obligation to them for fo fignal a piece of fervice mon somethib the

But upon his arrival within a few leagues of the Delna, he made them acquainted with

# 288 MAZEPPA JOINS CHARLES.

with his real defign. Those generous people received the proposal with indignation, refusing to betray a monarch, of whom they had no reason to complain, for the fake of a Swede, who was marching with an armed force into their country, and who, after his retreat from thence, would be no longer able to afford them protection; fo that they must be abandoned to the discretion of the angry Russians, and of the Poles, once their lords, and always their enemies. The refult was, they returned to their respective homes, and gave advice to the Czar of the defection of their chief: there remained with Mazeppa no more than two regiments, whose officers were in his own pay. nem builbedt i

Yet he was still master of some fortresses in the Ukrain, and particularly of Bathurin, the place of his residence, and considered as the capital of the Cossacks. It is situated near some forests on the Desna, but at a great distance from the field of battle, where Peter had deseated Lewenhaupt. There was always a body of Russian troops quartered

TAKING OF BATHURIN. 289 tered in those parts. The Czar detached Menzikoff from the army, who arrived there by a very long circuit. Charles could not guard all the passes; neither indeed was he acquainted with them all: he had neglected to make himself master of the important post of Starodub, which leads directly to Bathurin, by a forest of feven or eight leagues, through which the Defna directs its course. The enemy had always the advantage of him, by their knowledge of the country. Menzikoff found no difficulty to pulk forward with prince Galitzin ! upon their appearing before Bathurin, the town was \* taken almost without refiftance, plundered, and reduced to ashes. The Russians made themselves mafters of a magazine defigned for the king of Sweden, and of Mazeppa's treafures; the Coffacks chose another betman, named Skoropasky, who was approved by the Czar. To make the people more senfible of the enormity of the treason, by fome external form, the archbishop of

14, 1708. 12 120 November 14, 1708. 12 120 1210 170 14

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# 290 MELANCHOLY SITUATION

Kiow, and two more prelates were ordered to excommunicate Mazeppa in public: after which he was hanged in effigy \*; and fome of his accomplices were broke upon the wheel.

Charles was still at the head of about twenty-five, or twenty-feven thousand Swedes; who were joined by the shattered remains of Lewenhaupt's corps, together with two or three thousand men, under the command of Mazeppa. As he had always flattered himself with the hopes of making the whole province of Ukrain declare in his favour, he croffed the Defna + at some distance from Bathurin, and in the neighbourhood of the Borysthenes; although he was encompassed by the Russian troops, part of whom purfued his rear guard, while the rest were drawn up on the opposite side of the river, in order to obstruct his passage, voltage should select a court

He directed his march through a country, that was quite desolate, the villages having been all destroyed and burnt. The cold was fo extremely intense in the month of

<sup>\*</sup> November 22, 1708. + November 15, 1708.

December, that upon a particular march, near two thousand men dropped down dead in his own prefence. The Czar's troops suffered less, because they had greater refources; but the Swedes being almost naked, were more exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

In this deplorable fituation, count Piper, the Swedish chancellor, who always gave his master the most prudent advice, entreated him to halt, and to pass at least the severest part of the winter, in a fmall town of the Ukrain, called Romna, where he might intrench himself, and get a supply of provisions by means of Mazeppa: but Charles made answer, that it was beneath his dignity to that himself up in a town. Piper then begged of him to repass the Desna and the Borysthenes; to march back into Poland; to put his troops into quarters of refreshment, of which they stood so greatly in need; to get a reinforcement of Polish light horse, which was absolutely necessary to support the king he himself had raised to the throne, and to check Augustus's doidw

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# 292 MELANCHOLY SITUATION

party, who were beginning to raise their heads. The king replied, that this would be the same thing as flying before the Czar; that the season would grow milder; that he must subdue the Ukrain, and march on to Moscow\*.

The Russian and Swedish armies were detained some weeks † in a state of inaction, by the intensences of the cold in the month of January 1709: but as soon as the troops were able to wield their arms, Charles attacked the several little posts, with which the enemy intended to obstruct his march. He was obliged to send detachments on every side in search of provisions; that is, to rob the poor peasants, for twenty leagues round, of their necessary subsistence. Peter with great composure observed his motions, while the Swedish army was mouldering away.

It is impossible for the reader to trace the Swedes in their progress through this desolate country. Many of the rivers, over

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which

<sup>\*</sup> This is acknowledged by Norberg the chaplain, tom. ii. p. 263. † January 1709.

which they passed, are not to be found in maps: neither is it to be supposed, that geographers are as well acquainted with that part of the world, as with Italy, France and Germany. Of all the liberal arts, geography stands the most in need of improvement. For the ambition of princes has hitherto been more diligent in destroying, than in surveying the face of the globe.

Let us therefore be contented with knowing, that Charles at length croffed the Ukrain in the month of February, after burning all the villages upon the road, except fome few that had been fet on fire already by the Russians. Advancing foutheast, he reached those fandy deserts, bordered by mountains, which separate the Nogay Tartars from the Don Cossacks: eastward of those mountains are the altars of Alexander \*. Charles was therefore on the other side of the Ukrain, in the road which the Tartars take to Russia; but when he had penetrated so far, he was obliged to turn back for want of provisions. The in-

Alexandri ara.

#### 294 CRUELTY OF CHARLES.

habitants retiring with their cattle into caverns, would fometimes struggle hard with the foldiers, who wanted to deprive them of their fustenance: in revenge, as many of those poor peasants as could be found, were put to death; which, according to the Swedish phrase, was the right of war. I must transcribe here a few lines from Norberg the chaplain. \* In order to convince the world, fays he, bow friet a regard the king paid to juffice, we shall infert a note of bis own hand-writing to colonel Hielmen. " Colonel, I am glad you have " taken the peasants, who carried off a " Swedish soldier; as soon as they are con-" victed of the crime, they must be punished " with death, pursuant to the exigency of the " case." CHARLES, and lower down Budis. Such are the fentiments of humanity and justice, shewn by a king's confessor: but if the peafants of the Ukrain had been able to hang the regimented pealants of East Gothland, who imagined they had a right to march into so distant a country, in order to plunder those poor people of the few provisions, that were intended to keep their wives and children from starving, would not the confessors and chaplains of those Ukranians have had equal reason to extol their justice?

Mazeppa was a long while negotiating with the Zaporavians, who are fettled on both the banks of the Borysthenes, and part of whom inhabit the islands situated in that river +. These are they who have neither wives nor families, and who fublift intirely by plunder: during the winter they collect a store of provisions, which they fell in the spring to the little town of Pultowa; the rest are scattered along the villages to the right and left of this river. The collective body of the nation chuse a particular hetman, who is fubordinate to the officer of that name in the Ukrain. The person then at the head of the Zaporavians, had an interview with Mazeppa, when a horse's tail and a club were carried as enfigns of honour, before each of those barbarians. + See chap. i.

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In

#### 296 CHARLES TREATS WITH

In order to give some idea of this hetman, and of his subjects the Zaporavians, I do not think it beneath the dignity of history, to mention in what manner the treaty was concluded. Mazeppa gave a grand entertainment, in a fervice of plate, to the Zaporavian hetman, and to his principal officers. As foon as those chiefs were intoxicated with brandy, they fwore upon the Evangelists, that they would furnish Charles with men and provisions. After which they carried off the plate, and all the furniture used at table. But the steward purfued them close, and endeavoured to make it appear, that this behaviour was inconfistent with the doctrines of the gospel, by which they had sworn. The domestics wanting to recover the plate, the Zaporavians affembled in a body, and went to Mazeppa, complaining of the unparalleled affront done to a brave fet of fellows; defiring moreover, that the steward should be delivered up to them, in order to be dealt with according to justice. Their demand being complied with.

with, the Zaporavians, in pursuance of their laws, fell upon the poor man; and after they had kicked him about like a foot-ball, plunged a knife into his heart.

Such were the new allies, whom Charles the Twelfth was obliged to receive. Part of them were formed into a regiment of about two thousand men; the remainder marched in separate bodies against the Czar's Cossacks and Calmucks, who were dispersed in those quarters.

The little town of Pultowa, with which these Zaporavians carry on a trade, abounded with provisions, and might serve Charles as a place of arms. It is fituated on the river Vorskla, near a chain of mountains, which command it on the north; the east side is a vast desert; but that to the westward is more fruitful and populous. The Vorskla empties itself into the Borysthenes about sifteen leagues lower down. From Pultowa, there is a passage northward through the desiles, which communicate with the road to Moscow; a passage commonly used by the

# 298 SIEGE OF PULTOWA.

the Tartars. It is of very difficult access; and the Czar's precaution had rendered it almost impervious: yet nothing appeared impossible to Charles; and he depended upon marching to Moscow, after he had made himself master of Pultowa. With this view, he laid siege to this town in the beginning of May.





## CHAPTER XVIII.

THE

## BATTLE OF PULTOWA.

ERE it was that Peter expected him. He had disposed his different detachments, so as to be all ready to join, and to march in a body against the befiegers: he had visited the countries which furround the Ukrain, namely the dutchy of Severia, watered by the Defna, a river of fome depth, even in this neighbourhood, and already celebrated by his late victory; the country of Bolcho, in which the Occa has its fource: the deferts and mountains leading to the Palus Mæotis; and lastly, he had been in the neighbourhood of Afoph, where he caused the harbour to be cleansed, new vessels to be built, and the citadel of Taganroc to be repaired; fo that he had employed

300 BATTLE OF PULTOWA.
ployed the whole intermediate time between

the battles of Defna and Pultowa, in preparing for the defence of his dominions.

As foon as he heard that the Swedes had laid fiege to this town, he affembled all his troops. His horse, dragoons, infantry, Cossacks, and Calmucks, advanced from twenty different quarters: his army was well provided with artillery and ammunition, as well as with provisions and medicines; so that in this respect he had greatly the advantage of his rival.

On the 15th of June, 1709, he appeared before Pultowa, with an army of about fixty thousand men. The river Vorskla was betwen him and Charles. The beforegers were to the north west, the Russians to the south east.

Peter \* ascends the river above the town, fixes his bridges, marches over with his whole force, draws a long line, and intrenches himself in a single night, within view of the enemy. Charles might then easily judge, whether the person

-me had ad and July 3, 1709. or od of warman

bayolq

BATTLE OF PULTOWA. whom he held in fuch contempt, and de-

pended upon dethroning at Moscow, understood the art of war. This disposition being made, Peter posted his horse betwixt two woods, and covered them with feveral redoubts, lined with artillery. Having thus concerted his measures, he went to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, in order to form the attack \* 100 hall eard to the public.

This battle was to decide the fate of Russia, Poland, and Sweden; and of two monarche, on whom the eyes of all Europe were fixed. Most nations, attentive to these weighty concerns, were ignorant of the actual fituation of both princes: but knowing only that Charles the Twelfth had begun his march from Saxony at the head of a victorious, and formidable army; and that he was in full pursuit of his enemy, no body made the least doubt but he would cut the Russians to pieces; and that as he had given laws to Denmark, Poland, and Germany, fo now he would dictate and the greatest empire, and the world, would

conditions

302 BATTLE OF PULTOWA.

conditions of peace in the Cremelin of Moscow, and make a new Czar, after having made a new king of Poland. I have seen letters from several ministers to their respective courts, confirming this general opinion.

In this critical fituation of the two rivals, the consequence was not the same with regard to the public. Had Charles perished that memorable day, the most that could have been said, would be that there was an end of a great hero, who had so often and so wantonly exposed his life. The Ukrain, and the frontiers of Lithuania and Russia, would be no longer laid waste; and Poland would, together with her tranquillity, recover her lawful king, who had been lately reconciled to the Czar his benefactor.

Sweden, in short, though exhausted of men and money, might find some circumstances of consolation under her heavy loss: but had the Czar been cut off, the public would have been for ever deprived of his grand undertakings, so useful to mankind; and the greatest empire in the world, would

conditions

have

BATTLE OF PULTOWA. 303 have once more relapsed into the chaos, from which it had scarcely emerged.

There were feveral skirmishes under the walls of Pultowa, between the Swedish and Russian detachments. In one of these Charles, having been wounded with a shot from a carabine \*, which shattered the bone. of his heel, underwent the incisions of the furgeon with his usual fortitude; but was obliged to keep his bed for a few days. In this fituation he was informed, that Peter intended to attack him. Thinking it inconfistent with his glory to wait for the enemy in his entrenchments, he drew out his troops, and was carried himself in a litter. Peter the Great acknowledges in his own journal, that the Swedes made fuch a vigorous attack upon the redoubts, which covered his cavalry, that in spite of all his refistance, and of a continual fire from his cannon, they became masters of two redoubts. Some writers, mention, that the Swedish infantry, upon this first success, imagined they had

pikes:

## 304 BATTLE OF PULTOWA.

got the day, and cried out victory. Norberg the chaplain, who was at fome diftance from the field of battle, among the
baggage (which indeed was his proper place)
pretends, that this is a calumny! but whether the Swedes cried out victory, or not,
certain it is, they were not victorious. The
fire from the other redoubts did not at all
abate; and the Ruffians on every fide defended themselves with a firmness equal to
the vivacity of the assailants. They made
no irregular motion. But the Czar drew
up his army with great readiness and order,
before the intrenchments.

The troops were now engaged on every fide. Peter acted as major general; the right wing of the Ruffians was commanded by general Baur; the left by Menzikoff; and the center by Scheremetow. The action lasted two hours. Charles, with a pistol in his hand, went from rank to rank, conveyed by his drabans in a litter: one of those troopers was killed by a cannon ball; and the litter was shattered in pieces. He then ordered his men to carry him upon pikes;

BATTLE OF PULTOWAN 305 pikes; for it is difficult to believe, let Norberg say what he will, that in the heat of fo bloody an engagement, they could find another litter quite ready to their hands. Peter received Teveral Thot in his cloaths and in his hat. Both princes were in the midft of the fire during the whole action. At length, after a warm dispute of two hours, the Swedes gave way on every fide, and fell into confusion; so that Charles was obliged to retire with precipitation before an enemy, whom he had hitherto held in great contempt. This very hero was mounted on horfeback in the flight, though he had been unable to keep his faddle in the heat of the engagement; but necessity made him exert himself almost beyond his strength: in his retreat he suffered

were taken in the action.

Wills

the most exquisite pain, which was increased by his concern for this irreparable defeat. The Russians reckoned nine thoufand two hundred and twenty four Swedes killed in the field; besides two or three thousand prisoners, chiefly cavalry, that

# 306 VICTORY OF PULTOWA.

In this precipitate flight, Charles was attended by only fourteen thousand men, with very little cannon, ammunition, or provisions. He directed his march southward towards the Borysthenes, between the rivers Vorskla and Sol\*, in the country of the Zaporavians. Beyond the Borysthenes are extensive deserts, leading to the frontiers of Turky. Norberg affirms, that the victors durst not pursue Charles: yet he acknowledges, that Menzikoff appeared to the eminences with ten thousand horse, and a considerable train of artillery, while the king was passing the Borysthenes.

Fourteen thousand Swedes surrendered themselves prisoners of war to these ten thousand Russians. This fatal capitulation was signed by general Lewenhaupt, who thereby delivered into the power of the Czar, those Zaporavians that had sought for his king, and had the missortune of being in this sugitive army. The chief persons taken prisoners in the battle, and by the capitulation, were count Piper, the first minister,

Or Pfol. ..... July 12, 1769. st 515W

with

VICTORY OF PULTOWA. 3072 with two fecretaries of state, and two of the cabinet; field-marshal Renchild; the generals Lewenhaupt, Schlippenbach, Rozen, Stakelber, Creutz, and Hamilton: with three general aid de camps, the auditor gevneral of the army, nine and fifty staffofficers, five colonels, among whom was the prince of Wirtemberg; fixteen thousand nine hundred and forty-two foldiers, and subaltern officers in short, including the king's domestics and other attendants upon the army, no less than eighteen thousand feven hundred and forty-fix Swedes fell that day into the hands of the conqueror; and if we add the nine thousand two hundred and eighty killed in battle, and near two thousand men that passed the Borysthenes in the king's retinue, it appears plainly, that there were seven and twenty thousand effective men under Charles's command on that memorable day # .... mad agoon and

He whell the Borytheir, tout a general officer to make

At Amsterdam, in 1730, were printed the Memoirs of Peter the Great, by a pretended boyar, Ivan Nesteruzanoy. In these Memoirs it is said, that the king of Sweden, before

# 308 VICTORY OF PULTOWA.

He had begun his march from Saxony with five and forty thousand men; and Lewenhaupt brought upwards of fixteen thousand with him from Livonia: but this flourishing army was no more. Out of a numerous artillery, he had been obliged to leave the greatest part behind him, in his march through moraffes; fo that he faved only eighteen brafs cannon, two haubitzes, and twelve mortars. With fo inconfiderable a force did he undertake the fiege of Pultowa, and venture to attack an army provided with a formidable train of artillery. Hence he is faid to have diftinguished himself more by his bravery, than by his conduct, fince his departure from Germany. On the fide of the Ruffians, there were only fiftytwo officers, and twelve hundred and ninetythree common foldiers killed: which fhews that the Czar made a better disposition of his troops than Charles ; and that the fire

he passed the Borysthenes, sent a general officer to make proposals of peace to the Czar. The four volumes of these Memoirs are either untruths and absurdities, or a compilation of gazettes. " Thyon Laborated In these Memoirs it is faid, that the king of Sweden, before

VICTORY OF PULTOWA. 309
of the Russians was infinitely superior to
that of the Swedes.

We find in the memoirs of a foreign minister to the court of Russia, that Peter, upon hearing Charles's refolution to take refuge in Turky, wrote a friendly letter to him, defiring he would not enter into fo desperate a measure, but rely upon his facred word, rather than venture himfelf in the hands of the natural enemy of Christendom. He affured him upon his honour, that he would not detain him prisoner; but that all their differences should be accommodated by a reasonable peace. The letter was carried by an express as far as the river Bog, which separates the deserts of the Ukrain from the territories of the grand fignior. As the meffenger did not reach that place till Charles had entered Turky, he brought the letter back to his mafter. The fame minifter adds further, that he had \* this account from the very person charged with the

X

letter

This fact appears also in a letter printed before the Anecdotes of Russia, p. 23.

## 310 Consequences of THE

letter. The anecdote is not at all improbable; but I do not meet with it in Peter's journal, or in any of the memorials committed to my care. What is of greater importance with respect to this battle, was its being the only one, out of such a vast number, which have embrued the earth with blood, that instead of contributing to the destruction, has rather promoted the happiness of the human species, since it gave the Czar an opportunity to civilize so considerable a part of the world.

There have been upwards of two hundred pitched battles fought in Europe, fince the beginning of this century, to the present year. The most fignal, and the most bloody victories, have been attended with no other consequences, than the reduction of a few provinces, yielded afterwards by treaties, and recovered by other battles. Armies of a hundred thousand men have often encountered in the field; but the most violent efforts have been attended with weak and transient successes; and the mightiest causes have

# BATTLE OF PULTOWA. 311

have been productive of trifling effects. There is no instance in modern history of a war, from which any public benefit arose, equivalent to the mischief it has occasioned: but from the battle of Pultowa, the greatest empire upon earth has derived its present prosperity.

THE YEARS 1009, AND 1910!

he dominions . Cestque To es Figes the Great



chancing to those officers, he faid, "To it the health of my massers in the are of war," but most of his masters, at least at the substant officers, and the common foldiers, were quickly sent into Siberia. There was no cartel fatical between the leasthans and Swedes: the Car indeed had a constal one before the face of Pultowa,

bill

X4 CHAP-

# BAITLES OF PULTOWAL CALL STATEMENT OF THE STATEMENT OF T

# a war, from which any public benefit arele, equivaXIX than SiTr ( A HaDnett: but from the battle of Pulcowa, the erested

Consequences of the battle of Pultowa. Charles the Twelfth takes shelter among the Turks.

Augustus, whom he had dethroned, recovers his dominions. Conquests of Peter the Great.

THE YEARS 1709, AND 1710.

N the mean while, all the Swedish generals were presented to the con-\*\* gueror; who ordered their fwords to be returned, and invited them to dinner. Every body must have heard, that upon drinking to those officers, he faid, " To " the health of my masters in the art of " war;" but most of his masters, at least all the fubaltern officers, and the common foldiers, were quickly fent into Siberia. There was no cartel fettled between the Russians and Swedes: the Czar indeed had proposed one before the siege of Pultowa; but CHAP XL

CONSEQUENCES OF &c. 313 but Charles rejected the offer, and his troops foon felt the ill effects of his inflexible temper.

It was this unseasonable obstinacy, that occasioned all the misfortunes of this prince in Turky; and a series of adventures, more becoming an Orlando Furioso, than a wise prince. For as soon as he arrived at Bender, he was advised to write to the grand vizir, pursuant to the custom of the Turks; but he thought it beneath his dignity. The like obstinacy set him successively at variance with all the ministers of the Porte: in short, he knew not how to accommodate himself either to time or place \*.

The first advice of the battle of Pultowa, produced a general revolution in Poland, Saxony, Sweden, and Silesia. When Charles was in all his glory, he obliged the emperor Joseph to eject the Catholics out of a hundred and five churches, in favor of the

Silefians

La Motraye in the relation of his travels has given us a letter from Charles XII to the grand vizir; but this letter is forged, as are most of the accounts of that mercenary writer: for Norberg himself confesses that the king of Sweden would never consent to write to the grand vizir.

# 314 KING AUGUSTUS

Silefians of the confession of Augsburg; but the Catholics repoffelled themselves of the Lutheran temples, as foon as they were informed of the king of Sweden's defeat. The Saxons now determined to be revenged of a prince, who in the height of his profperity had plundered that electorate, according to their accounts, of three and twenty millions of crowns. The king of Poland\*, their elector, immediately protested against an extorted abdication; and being now reconciled to the Czar, he shewed an impatience to re-ascend the Polish throne. Sweden, in the greatest consternation, for a long time imagined her king to be dead; fo that the fenate, under this uncertainty, were incapable of coming to any refolution.

Peter determined to make the best use of his victory; and therefore ordered marshal Scheremetow to march into Livonia, on the frontiers of which province this general had so often distinguished himself. A large body of cavalry, commanded by prince Menzikoss,

August 8, 1709. The bluow ashe to

RESTORED BY PETER. 315

was dispatched with the utmost expedition, to fecond the efforts of the inconfiderable number of forces that had been left in Poland; to encourage the nobility who adhered to Augustus; to expel his competitor, who was now confidered as a rebel; and to disperse a few Swedish troops still remaining in that kingdom, under the command of general Craffau. oder out of holders mod bad

Peter foon after fets out himfelf in person, passes through Kiow, and the palatinates of Chelm, and Upper Volhinia, and at length arrives at Lublin, where he concerts matters with the general of Lithuania: after this he reviews \* the crown troops, who take the oath of allegiance to king Augustus: from thence he proceeds to Warfaw; and at Thorn enjoys the most glorious of triumphs, that of receiving the thanks of a king, whom he had restored to his crown +. There it was that he concluded a treaty against Sweden, with the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Pruffia. Their defign was now, to recover from Charles

Peters

<sup>\*</sup> September 18, 1709. + October 7.

# 316 KING AUGUSTUS

all the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of Russia, to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim to Scania; and the king of Prussia to Pomerania.

Thus the unprosperous valor of Charles the Twelfth shook the whole edifice, that had been erected by the successful bravery of Gustavus Adolphus. The Polish nobility slocked from all sides to renew their oath of allegiance to king Augustus, or to ask pardon for their desertion; in short, almost the whole kingdom acknowledged Peter for their protector.

A revolution to unexpected, and supported by so formidable an alliance, was a prodigious shock to Stanislaus; who finding himself unable to oppose the victorious arms of the Czar, had no other choice to make but that of resigning the crown; accordingly he published a writing, called Universale, wherein he declares himself ready to abdicate, if the republic require it.

con-

Peter having fettled his affairs with the king of Poland, and ratified the treaty with Denmark, let forward directly, to finish his negotiation with the king of Pruffia. It had not been yet the practice for fovereigns to perform the functions of their own ainbaffadors: Peter was the first who introduced this cuftom; but few have followed his example. The elector of Brandenburg, the first king of Prussia, had an interview with the Czar at Marienwerder. This was a fmall town built by the Teutonic knights in the western part of Pomerania, and on the borders of Pruffia, which had been lately created a kingdom. The country indeed was poor, and of a finall extent; yet whenever the new king made a tour to it, he appeared with the utmost magnificence. With this fplendor he received the Czar Peter, when, on a former occasion, that prince withdrew from his imperial dominions, to fearch for knowledge and instruction in foreign countries. But the conqueror of Charles XII was now entertained in a more pompous manner. Peter

COIL-

concluded only a defensive treaty with him \*, which afterwards completed the ruin of Sweden

No time was loft. The Czar having proceeded with the utmost dispatch in his negotiations, contrary to the cultom of ministers, who are apt to spin them out to too great a length, goes and joins his army before Riga, the capital of Livonia +. He begins with bombarding the town, and fires the three first bombs himself: then knowing that Riga must certainly fall, he forms a blockade, and fets out for his city of Petersburg, in order to forward the new buildings and the fleet; and t having laid the keel of a fifty-four gun ship with his own hands, he returns to Moscow. Here he amused himself with the preparations of a triumph, exhibited in that capital: the works were under his direction, the dispofition was intirely his own, and he even had his share in the labour.

October 20, 1709. + November 21, 1709. + December 3, 1709.

The year 1710 \* was ushered in with this folemnity, fo necessary to his subjects, whom it inspired with ideas of grandeur; and so agreeable to a people, who had been apprehensive of seeing their capital in possession of those very Swedes, that were now led through it in triumph. The artillery of the vanquished, their colours, and standards, their king's litter, the foldiers, officers, generals, and ministers of the captive Swedes, all on foot, moved in folemn procession under seven magnificent arches, attended with the ringing of bells, with the found of trumpets, with volleys discharged from a hundred pieces of cannon, and with the acclamations of an immense multitude of people. The victors on horseback, with the generals at their head, and Peter in his rank of major general, closed the procession, At each friumphal arch stood the deputies of the several orders of the state; and at the last was a chosen band of young noblemen, the fons of boyars, in a Roman drefs, who prefented the victorious monarch with a crown of laurel.

# 320 THE CZAR'S AMBASSADOR

This public festival was succeeded by another ceremony, that afforded no less faltisfaction than the former. In the year 1708 happened an accident, the more difagreeable to the Ruffians, as Peter was at that time unprosperous in war. Mateof, his amballador to the court of London, having obtained an audience of leave of queen Anne, was arrested for debt, at the suit of fome English merchants, and obliged to give in bail. The merchants pretended that the laws of commerce were of a superior nature to the privileges of ambassadors: on the other hand Mateof, and all the other foreign ministers who espoused his caule, maintained that their persons ought to be facred. Peter by his letters to queen Anne, strongly insisted upon having fatisfaction: but she could not comply with his defire; because by the laws of England the merchants had a right to fue for their just demands; and there was no law to exempt foreign ministers from being arrested for debt. The murder of Patkul, the Czar's ambaffador, who had been executed the aid T preceding \* January 1. 4710.

# ARRESTED AT LONDON. 321 preceding year, by order of Charles the Twelfth, was in some measure an encouragement to the people of England, not to respect a character so grossly abused. The other foreign ministers, residing then in London, were obliged to be bound for Mateof; and all that the queen could do in favor of the Czar, was to prevail on the parliament to pass an act, whereby it was no longer lawful to arrest an ambaffador for debt; but after the battle of Pultowa, it became necessary, to give a more public fatisfaction to that prince. The queen, by a formal embaffy, made an excuse for what had passed. Mr. Whitworth\*; who was pitched upon for this ceremony, opened his speech with the following words, Most high and most mighty emperor. He told the Czar, that the queen had imprisoned the persons, who had prefumed to arrest his ambassador; and that the delinquents had been rendered infamous. There was not a word of truth in this; but the ac-

February 16, 1910. He was created lord Whitworth by king George I organist stand

pieces

## 322 CONQUEST OF LIVONIA.

knowledgment was fufficient; and the title of emperor, which the queen had not given him before the battle of Pultowa, plainly shewed the degree of estimation, to which he was now raised in Europe. This title had been already granted him in Holland, not only by those who had been his fellow workmen in the dock-yards at Sardam, and seemed to interest themselves most in his glory; but even by the chief persons in the state, who unanimously stiled him emperor, and celebrated his victory with rejoicings in the presence of the Swedish minister.

The reputation which the Czar had gained by the victory of Pultowa, was greatly increased by the diligence, with which he improved it. He begins with laying siege to Elbing; a hanse town of Royal Prussia in Poland, in which the Swedes had still a garrison. The Russians mount the walls \*, enter the town, and the garrison surrender prisoners of war. This was one of the great magazines of Charles the Twelsth: the besiegers found a hundred and eighty three

2 March 11, 1710. 1 05 000 3011 40

world

# CONQUEST OF LIVONIA. 323 pieces of brass cannon, with a hundred and fifty-feven mortars. The Czar having immediately removed \* from Moscow to Petersburg, embarks under his new fortress of Cronflot, scowers the coast of Carelia, and, though he meets with a violent tempest, arrives with his fleet before Wyburg, the chief town of Carelia in Finland; while his land-forces are marching over frozen moraffes. The place is invested, and the capital of Livonia is more closely blocked up +. Upon making a breach, the garrifon of Wyburg, confifting of about four thousand men, furrender upon terms; but could not obtain the honours of war, for they were made prisoners contrary to the capitulation. Peter complained of leveral infractions of this kind on the part of the enemy; and promifed to fet these troops at liberty, as foon as the Swedes would give him proper fatisfaction : but in this affair, they were obliged to confult the king, who was still inflexible; in consequence of which the foldlers whom

April 2, 1710. 1 21 While + June 23. olinia

## 324 CONQUEST OF LIVONIA

he might have set free, remained in captivity. Thus king William the Third arrested marshal Bousslers in 1695, notwithstanding the capitulation of Namur. There are many instances of such violations of treaties, though it were to be wished that there never had been any.

After the taking of this capital, the fiege of Riga was carried on in form, and with great vivacity: they were obliged to break the ice in the river Duna, which washes the north fide of the town walls. A mortality, that had raged for some time in those parts, got among the beliegers, and swept away nine thousand men; yet the siege was not at all flackened. The garrison made a very good defence, and obtained the honours of war: \* it was agreed in the capitulation, that all the Livonian officers and foldiers thould remain in the fervice of Russia, as natives of a country which had been difmembered from that empire, and usurped by the ancestors of Charles the Twelfth. But the Livonians were restored to the privileges, of which they had been stripped by the late king of Sweden, and all the officers entered into the Russian service. This was the noblest satisfaction the Czar could take for the murder of his ambassador Patkul, a Livonian, who had been put to death for defending those very privileges. The garrison consisted of about five thousand men. Soon after the citadel of Pennamunde was taken; and in the town and fort, the besiegers found a most numerous artillery.

Before the Russians could be intire masters of Carelia, it was necessary they should have possession of the strong town of Kexholm on the lake of Ladoga, situated in an island, and considered as almost impregnable: it was bombarded some time after, and soon obliged to surrender \*. The island of Oesel in the sea bordering upon the north of Livonia, was subdued with the same rapidity †.

On the fide of Estonia, a province of Livonia towards the north and on the gulf of Finland, stand the towns of Pernau and Revel; the reduction of which was still wanting

\* Sept. 19, 1710. † Sept. 23.

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# 326 CONQUEST OF LIVONIA.

nau furrendered after a siege of a sew days; and Revel + did the same, before a single cannon had been fired against the town. But the Swedes sound means to elude the conqueror, at the very time that they were surrendering themselves prisoners of war; for some ships of their nation having entered the harbour by night, the garrison, and most of the citizens embarked; so that the besiegers were surprized to find the place deserted. When Charles the Twelsth gained the battle of Narva, little did he imagine that his troops would one day have occasion for the like stratagems.

In Poland, Stanislaus, finding his party quite demolished, took shelter in Pomerania, a province that still continued in the hands of Charles the Twelsth. Augustus resumed the government; and it was difficult to determine, who had acquired most glory, Charles in dethroning him, or Peter in restoring him to his crown.

‡ Aug. 25, 1710.

† Sept. 10,

The subjects of the king of Sweden were still more unfortunate than himself: the mortality which had made such havock over all Livonia, penetrated into Sweden, where it swept away thirty thousand inhabitants in Stockholm only: it laid waste those provinces, that had been already too much depopulated; for during the space of ten years successively, most of the able-bodied men had quitted their country to attend their sovereign, and had perished in his service.

Charles's unlucky star pursued him also in Pomerania. His troops having retired into this province from Poland, to the number of eleven thousand men; the Czar, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the duke of Holstein, entered into a confederacy to render this army useless, and to oblige general Crassau, who commanded it, to submit to a neutrality. The regency of Stockholm, hearing no news from their king, thought themselves very happy, in the midst of a mortality, that ravaged the city, to sign this treaty, which seemed at least to remove the horrors of war from one

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of their provinces. The emperor of Germany favoured this extraordinary convention. It was stipulated, that the Swedish army, then in Pomerania, should not march out of this province to defend their monarch in any other part of the world: nay, it was resolved in the German empire, to raise an army, with a view of seeing this most singular treaty executed. The reason of this was, that the emperor being then at war with France, hoped to make the Swedish army enter into his service. This whole negotiation was carried on, while Peter was subduing Livonia, Estonia, and Carelia.

During these transactions, Charles the Twelfth, who had been employing every engine at Bender, to prevail on the divan to declare war against the Czar, received this intelligence as one of the severest strokes of fortune. He could not bear that his senate at Stockholm should pretend to tie up the hands of his army: and upon this occasion it was, that he wrote word, he would send one of his boots to govern them.

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## QUARREL WITH THE PORTE. 329

The Danes were now preparing to make a descent upon Sweden; so that every nation in Europe was engaged in war: Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and England, were still contending about the fuccession of Charles the Second, king of Spain; and all the northern powers were armed against Charles XII. There wanted nothing but a quarrel with the Ottoman Porte, for every village in Europe to be in a flame. Such a quarrel happened merely through the jealousy of the Turks, at the time when Peter was in the zenith of his Anchangel prosperity. Lemen Miller Russan Bayland.

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